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Table of Contents

APRIL, 1954

ARTICLES

Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, 1809-1878 . *Louis Allen* 1

The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878 in the Diocese of Natchez . . . . . *John Scanlon* 27

MISCELLANY 46

BOOK REVIEWS 63

NOTES AND COMMENTS 93

BRIEF NOTICES 109

PERIODICAL LITERATURE 114

BOOKS RECEIVED 123

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Christianity. (Kenneth Scott Latourette). Edward A. Ryan 63

Geschichte der alten Kirche. Band 1: *Die Anfänge;* Band 2: *Ecclesia catholica;* Band 3: *Die Reichskirche;* Band 4: *Die Zeit der Kirchenväter.* (Hans Lietzmann). Joseph M.-F. Marique 64

The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. (Bruno Scott James, ed. and trans.). Marshall W. Baldwin 66

Newman. Sa vie, sa spiritualité. (Louis Bouyer de l'Oratoire). Jules A. Baisnée 68

Pie X. Essai historique. Vol. II. *Du Vatican à la gloire du Bernin.* (Pierre Fernessole). Florence D. Cohalan 72

The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac. (Richard Pattee). John S. Smith 74

Herodotus: Father of History. (John L. Myres). Thomas A. Brady 75

Gegrip en Probleem van de Renaissance. Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van hun Ontstaan en tot hun Kunst historische Omschrijving. (Herman Baeyens). Henry S. Lucas 76

La diplomatie. (Léon van der Essen). Martin F. Hasting 77

The Gold Coast Revolution. The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom. (George Padmore). Ralph M. Wiltgen 78

The Tudor Age. (James A. Williamson). Carl B. Cone 80

Born to Believe: An Autobiography. (Lord Pakenham). M. A. Fitzsimons 81

The New England Mind from Colony to Province. (Perry Miller). William L. Lucey 82

The Traitor and the Spy. (James Thomas Flexner). Charles H. Metzger 83

British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950. (Rowland Tappan Berthoff). Carl Wittke 84

The Growth of Southern Nationalism: 1848-1861. (Avery O. Craven). W. Clement Eaton 86

Refugees of Revolution. (Carl F. Wittke). Colman J. Barry 87

The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America. (Richard J. Storr). Joseph G. Dwyer 88

The Conquest and Colonization of Honduras, 1502-1550. (Robert S. Chamberlain). Martin J. Lowery 90

Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686. (C. R. Boxer). George C. A. Boehrer 91

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AMBROSE PHILLIPPS DE LISLE, 1809-1878

By Louis Allen*

This article is chiefly intended to be a plea for a new biography of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. The part he played in the history of the Catholic Church in England in the nineteenth century is great enough and varied enough to warrant a new assessment of him for his own sake, and not simply, as has been the case in the past, in relation to one or other of the figures of his time. The temptation to consider him merely as a contingent figure is, of course, very strong. The number of affairs in which he participated, and the number of people he knew and corresponded with, have tended to make historians and biographers stress one or other of his activities at the expense of the rest, and of seeing his personality as a whole. Admittedly the very multiplicity of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle's interests make this extraordinarily difficult.

He was, e.g., largely instrumental in the bringing to England of Father Dominic Barberi and Father Luigi Gentili. He was in great part responsible for the enormous French interest taken in the development of the Tractarian movement, and in the opinions of Newman, an interest which led in part to Modernism on the one hand, and on the other to such studies as the recent one by Abbé Bouyer.[1] The first study[2] of the English Catholic revival and the Oxford Movement, in French, owes a large amount of its information to

* Mr. Allen is lecturer in French in the University of Durham.

[1] Louis Bouyer, *Newman. sa vie, sa spiritualité* (Paris, 1952).

[2] Jules Gondon, *Du mouvement religieux en Angleterre* (Paris, 1844).

him. The first life of Newman in any language[3] was a direct result of de Lisle's contributions to the French Catholic press in the 1840's. The first monastery to be built in England after the Reformation was undertaken at his request and with his financial support, on his estates in Leicestershire: the Abbey of Mount Saint Bernard. He was one of the chief protagonists of the Gothic Revival, and a patron and supporter both in terms of hard cash and in numerous pamphlets of Augustus Welby Pugin. He was one of the foremost figures, through his writings and the practice of his own choir, in the introduction of the Gregorian chant to England. He was also involved in the struggle to obtain permission from the Holy See for Catholics to attend the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

These may seem to be a number of threads of unequal value. But to find one person at the root of so many of the burning religious questions of his day would surely, one might think, be a guarantee that his name and reputation would be reasonably well known to us. Is this the case with Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, or, as he was known later in his life, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle?[4] Not when we compare his biographical fate with that of his contemporaries. The Ward family have dealt in great detail with their own antecedents: we have the two volumes of Wilfrid Ward on his father, "Ideal" Ward, and Maisie Ward's two volumes on Wilfrid himself, her father. We have Wilfrid Ward and Professor Denis Gwynn on Wiseman; Purcell and Sir Shane Leslie on Manning; two biographies of Pugin; and books without number on Newman. The period, one might think, is sufficiently covered. But the attention paid to de Lisle is relatively small, and not at all in proportion to the role he played in the years between 1840 and 1870 in the history of the Catholic Church in England, as well as of the Anglican Church. It is true that his name occurs frequently in the various books which Professor Denis Gwynn has devoted to the Second Spring, particularly the lives of Fathers Dominic and Gentili. He figures to some extent in Bernard Ward's work, *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* (London, 1915). But

[3] Jules Gondon, *Notice biographique sur le R. P. Newman* (Paris, 1853).

[4] For the sake of convenience, he is referred to as "de Lisle" in the rest of the article, even when the reference is to a period when he was known as Phillipps.

the only full biography[5] ever devoted to him is a poor example of the biographical art, and in many places unworthy of its subject.

I would like to say something about this biography to underline the lacuna which I think exists in this particular field of ecclesiastical history. It was written by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, the biographer of Manning, and former editor of the *Westminster Gazette*. Purcell had full access to all the de Lisle Papers, which had been to some extent catalogued for him by Laura de Lisle, the wife of Ambrose, just before her death. Purcell himself died before the work was completed, and Edwin de Lisle, one of the subject's younger sons, finished off his father's biography. The book is regrettably indispensable as a source-book, if only for the number of important letters it contains, often reproduced in full, from nearly all the notable figures of the nineteenth century in England. But it suffers from the worst form of biographical impiety: the writers continually intrude their own personalities and nostrums upon their subject, using parentheses and footnotes to introduce their own comments not only on events of the time but on later events which are not really relevant to the issue but happen to be hobbyhorses either of Edwin de Lisle or of Purcell himself. For instance, in Volume II, Chapter XIX deals with the architecture of the Gothic Revival, and was written by Edwin de Lisle. A letter is quoted, written by Ambrose to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in favour of Gothic architecture. Immediately after the quotation, Edwin de Lisle begins a long diatribe on the design of Westminster Cathedral, culminating in a general description of it as "a huge mass of unshapely agglomeration, a megalomaniac hulk in a sea of unsightliness."[6]

One might say that this is not an example of complete irrelevance, since it could be argued that the subject himself would have had similar decided opinions on Westminster Cathedral; but in the lack of these, there is no reason at all why we should be treated to his biographer's views, which should find their place somewhere else. An even greater objection to the biography are the simple errors of fact and reference. With reference to a visit to Oxford by Montalembert, there occurs the following phrase: "Besides Montalembert, of whose visit I have already spoken . . ." (I, 296). The reader

[5] Edmund S. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*. 2 vols. (London, 1900). Referred to hereafter as Purcell.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 212.

is momentarily puzzled. He cannot remember having come across this incident, but assumes his memory is at fault. It is not. There is no such reference in the work, in either of the two volumes. Purcell may have intended to put it in, but in the final form of the biography it is simply not there. Again, on the wearing of the monastic habit, Purcell says: ". . . the illustrious leader of the Oxford Movement showed a far higher appreciation than Bishop Walsh of the effect produced by the wearing of the monastic habit. In a letter to de Lisle, which I have read but cannot now put my hand upon, Newman expressed himself with his usual terseness and theological acumen."[7] A man who has charge of such a correspondence and publishes a biography based upon it has no right merely to remember seeing a letter somewhere. We expect, and with reason, quotations and precise references. Canon Ollard[8] points out that Purcell (I, 195) attributes the edition of Newman's Anglican letters to "his sister, Mrs. J. B. Mozley," when, of course, Mrs. J. B. Mozley was neither related to Newman nor edited the letters, which was done by her sister-in-law, Miss Anne Mozley. Slips of this nature,[9] and Purcell's unattractive style, indicate clearly the need for a new biography of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, written in a latterday style and utilizing the enormous number of documents that Purcell did not use fully when he had them, and did not trouble to look for when he had not.

It is hard to realize that de Lisle was not born into a Catholic family. He was descended from a family which, though it had shared in the glory of the mediaeval Church in England, had been Protestant for centuries. He was converted at the age of sixteen, partly by wide and precocious theological reading, partly by the influence of the Abbé Giraud, a saintly French émigré priest who taught French at a school de Lisle attended. It was as a Catholic that de Lisle went up to Cambridge, became very friendly with Kenelm Digby, and later married into a noble Catholic family, the Cliffords, in 1833.

His father had done all he could to dissuade his son from taking the step of conversion, but when it had been taken he consented to

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 74.

[8] S. L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1915), p. 257.

[9] He also states (I, 35) that de Lisle was one of the founders of the Cambridge Camden Society, for which there is no evidence whatever. His name does not even appear in the list of members of that society.

the *fait accompli,* and gave the manor of Grace Dieu to the newly wedded couple. This manor had once been priory lands, and Ambrose, to make amends in some way for the despoiling of the monasteries, decided to build a chapel there and introduce another monastery on the site. What had been, in Wordsworth's description, "The ivied ruins of forlorn Grace Dieu,"[10] became by 1834 a new manor house built in Tudor style. A small chapel was attached, later to be enlarged and decorated by Pugin.

This was only the beginning. As an Anglican, de Lisle had already been among the first[11] to have a cross put on the communion table. The vicar who consented to this was also persuaded to adopt the use of the cope, an idea acquired by de Lisle after a visit to some Catholic churches on the continent. Two years after the Tractarian movement had begun in the Church of England, with Keble's sermon on National Apostasy, de Lisle, by this time a Catholic, had founded the Cistercian Abbey of Mount Saint Bernard. From the English Catholics, opposition to this was forceful and immediate. It was said that monasticism was out of date and out of place in nineteenth-century England, that what was wanted were missionary priests and not cloistered monks, that the habit was un-English, that the Emancipation Act was only six years old and it was foolish to give such a forthright and open expression of public Catholicism before the mind of the rest of England was attuned to it. Fortunately de Lisle was not deterred by any of this, save by misgivings over the one point of missionary priests, and he went ahead with his plans, borrowing money from the Earl of Shrewsbury, in spite of the fact that the latter really wanted some order established which would look after the Catholic poor and avoid their going into "those horrid haunts the common workhouses,"[12] when they could no longer support themselves. De Lisle answered his objections as follows:

> The Trappists have priests in their order, the more the better, for the grand object of their rule is the singing of the Divine Office. They devote themselves to the missionary duties, and to the corporal as well as

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[10] *Inscriptions: For a Seat in the Groves of Coleorton.* Characteristically, Purcell misquotes this sonnet (II, 293).

[11] Canon Ollard denies (*op. cit.,* p. 157) that he was the first, as Purcell states categorically (II, 200).

[12] Shrewsbury to de Lisle, September, 1836 (Purcell, I, 69).

spiritual relief of the poor and sick, to whom they distribute medicines, etc.—and all this with a degree of ardour and assiduity which I never saw in secular priests. Their abstemious life, their constant meditation, and their profound study of spiritual books qualify them admirably as spiritual directors, while it forms a fine commentary on the self-denying maxims of that Gospel which our saviour came on earth to teach. Their houses are houses of spiritual retreat also for secular gentlemen and ecclesiasticks, and the good they do even in this way is very great.

And he concludes his argument with an appeal very suited to a person from whom one is borrowing the money for this enterprise:

Besides all which you may support half a dozen Trappists on what would not satisfy one ordinary priest; only think that for many weeks the expenses of our good neighbours at Mt St Bernard did not exceed £1 a week for the whole community, which then amounted to 8 individuals.[13]

Lord Shrewsbury more than came up to scratch. The chapel was opened in 1837, and two years later he offered Ambrose several thousand pounds to build an entirely new monastery there, and the old one was converted into farm buildings for the use of the monks. All this, under Pugin's direction, was opened by 1844. The finances of church building, as seen by Lord Shrewsbury, are quite interesting in themselves. He built, or helped to build, by the simple procedure of staying away from England—"I assure you," he wrote to de Lisle, "that being abroad makes a great difference. I calculate we save *at least* £2000 every Summer we remain away from Alton, for do what we will, it is impossible not to spend money there. It is *necessary* to see so much company and keep up such an establishment."[14] Later he added: "£2000 each summer is half a small church or a whole monastery, or, indeed, all you want for your own church at St. Bernard's; and a church, or chapel, or monastery will endure (it is to be hoped) for many a long day, and be *infinitely* more instrumental in the conversion of the people than any personal exertions we can make at home. Of course we must come sometimes, but I hope not often. . . ."[15]

This work meant a heavy drag on de Lisle's expenses also, and in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury he claimed that out of his father's allow-

[13] De Lisle to Shrewsbury (*ibid.*, I, 70).
[14] Shrewsbury to de Lisle, August 14, 1841 (*ibid.*, I, 80).
[15] Same to same, September 13, 1841 (*ibid.*, I, 105-106).

ance he had left only £700 a year for the upkeep of his family and house, not by any means a great sum for a Victorian squire.

All this has dealt with plans and finances. But the background of it all was an aesthetic theory as well as a religious one or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to say they were one and the same: the aesthetic and religious union of de Lisle's principles is most striking. The Renaissance, and the painting and architecture which grew from it, was to him a completely pagan phenomenon. Anything from the Renaissance and after was to be banished from the churches; one was to rely entirely on what he called Gothic or pointed architecture, and on Gothic decoration. The only possible medium for the liturgy in such surroundings was the Gregorian chant, and one must banish completely the music of Haydn and Mozart, among others, which did not blend with the divine mystery of the Mass but distracted from it, and the performance of which often meant that the choir was filled with Protestant or unbelieving musicians who had no notion of the religious nature of their function. In his writings, de Lisle stated all this in extreme terms; he was at all times an extremist, and never cared to concede a point.

He published manuals which were supposed to carry into effect these liturgical principles: the *Little Gradual or Chorister's Companion* (1847), and a *Supplementum ad Graduale* (1862) with sequences for local usage not found in the Roman Gradual. In 1868 he published a pamphlet containing nine Gregorian Masses, one in each of the Gregorian tones and a *Missa in solemnibus* written by himself; and also an address to his choir *On Church Musick and the Ecclesiastical Chaunt in General.* All this did not imply a distaste for the music of Handel, Mozart, or Haydn—an unlikely supposition, after all, in any Victorian—de Lisle insisted merely that their place was not within the precincts of the church.

As for the construction of that church, it must be in the Gothic style, and not in the pagan or classical style. For de Lisle, as for Abbé Jean-Joseph Gaume, the terms are always interchangeable. On this point arose his controversy with the Oratorians, in particular with Father Frederick W. Faber, himself an extremist, and later with Newman. An added note of bitterness crept into this controversy, because de Lisle had watched for so long the progress of the Oxford men toward the Catholic Church, and had greeted the conversion of Newman in terms bordering on the ecstatic:

My dear Mr. Newman,

The intelligence contained in Mr. Dalgairns' letter received yesterday was quite overpowering. You are now a Catholick! you entered the blessed communion on the day of the glorious Saint Denis the Areopagite! I said the Te Deum to thank our good God for His great mercy yesterday evening. Words are wanting to express the feelings of the soul on such an occasion. It is a wonderful thought to me that the humble instrument chosen from all Eternity to make you a partaker of this great blessing should have been that good Monk Father Dominick the Passionist, who in 1831 told me in confidence how Our Lord had assured him in a vision that he should come to preach the Catholick Faith in England and to found there the Passionist Order, and that he should be a main instrument for the approaching conversion of our Dear England. . .

You also know doubtless how it was the Founder of their Order the Ven Fr Paul of the Cross, who, without any connection with England or knowledge of Englishmen personally, was moved by God the first to pray fervently for the reconciliation of our poor country: and of the remarkable extasy he had about England 3 years before his Death. Ah! my dear Mr. Newman, perhaps what took place in your little holy oratory at Littlemore on St. Denis's day was at that moment, more than 60 years ago, foreseen in a poor cell on a mountain in Italy! Yes, when in that extasy he exclaimed "ho veduto i miei figli in Inghilterra!" he saw you and those others at Littlemore whom from the ministry of his future disciple Fr Dominick he might well call his children. For you are indeed the children of a poor Passionist Monk. These things are overpowering. My only consolation is that they are worthily thought of and celebrated by the Angels in Heaven.[16]

This mood of exaltation did not last. The aesthetics of the Oxford converts proved very different from what he had hoped. De Lisle's views had been fully expressed in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury when he said:

The great argument in favour of *Gothick architecture* (as it is generally called) has always appeared to me to be that, which is derived from the circumstance of its *Xtian origin, meaning and destination.* No man of taste, however great his predilection for the Gothick or pointed style on Xtian grounds, will for a moment deny the *beauty* of Grecian or Roman architecture, but however much he may admire the beauty of those styles,

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[16] This letter is dated October 15, 1845, and is among the Newman Papers in the archives of the Oratory, Birmingham. I am indebted to Father Henry Tristram for permission to quote it.

he cannot deny their *pagan origin* and *meaning* or the fact that for many hundred years before the Xtian era their sole and universal destination was Pagan.

Thence the preference for the Xtian pointed style over the Pagan or Classical is much less a question of *taste* than one of *principle*. As a question of taste it may be defended, and in my opinion powerfully; as a question of principle it becomes invincible, and I have no more doubt of its ultimate and universal triumph than I have of that of Xtianity itself.[17]

On classical art, and its variations which were to provide the basis for much of Father Faber's building, he wrote:

That the last three centuries have been a most disastrous period for the Church of God no one acquainted with history can doubt: it was the period, that witnessed the separation of the most powerful and intellectual nations from the centre of unity, the adoption of the most monstrous principles by civil governments consequent upon the publication of Machiavelli's celebrated book, the weakening of the sentiment of Faith everywhere. . . . The same period is remarkable for what the French term the *Renaissance* or the revival of classical literature and art—and oh! what does that classical literature and art expose to our view? *If* it be *true* that no period produced more canonized saints than that of the *Renaissance*, all I can say is, that it was highly necessary that the Providence of God should display more than ever the wonders of His grace at such a disastrous and such a perilous period! . . .

The renaissance has now finished its career, nothing now remains but to give it a decent and quiet burial. . . .[18]

It is hardly surprising that with these opinions de Lisle and Faber waxed exceeding wrath over the whole business of church building, and cursed each other freely with the vigor and righteous indignation of an Old Testament prophet. Faber complained of de Lisle's language in a letter to Newman in which he reported that de Lisle had said to him: "Father Faber, God for your pride destroyed and brought to nought your first effort; He will curse and destroy your order, and it will perish, if you go on thus." "Surely," replied the shocked Newman, "this means the Oratory?"[19]

[17] De Lisle to Shrewsbury, May 5, 1840 (Purcell, II, 209).
[18] *Ibid.*, II, 210.
[19] Newman to de Lisle, June 6, 1848 (Purcell, II, 204).

It was Newman who took up the cudgels on behalf of the Renaissance, "Please, let me ask," he wrote,

is it not somewhat exclusive to call Grecian or Italian Pagan, as you do? For the word Pagan is used, not historically, but as a term of reproach. If it be Pagan, it is Popish too, for I suppose the Pope has given quite as much sanction to it as he has to Gregorian music, which by the by seems to be Pagan in the same sense that Italian architecture is. Excuse me, my dear Mr. Phillipps, but I shall not call you tolerant in these matters, till you drop such words. "Pagan" is "heretical" and a little more. It is treating ritual opinions as doctrinal errors.[20]

De Lisle was supported in his campaign for Gregorian chant, plus Gothic architecture, as the sole possible background for the Catholic faith, by Pugin, who wrote to him irately in 1840, before the Oxford converts had had time to be disappointing in this direction. He said:

. . . We nearly stand alone if we except the Oxford men, for among them I find full sympathy of feeling. But the real truth is the churches I build do little or no good for want of men who know how to use them. . . . I built a solemn church at Southport. It was opened with a perfectly disgusting display and a bill ending with an Ordinary at 2 o'clock, 3/6 each.

Keighley was opened the other day with a most horrible scene. Not only was all decorum violated, but a regular Row took place between the musicians who quarreled about their parts in church and after an hour's delay one priest drew off his singers and a Miss Whitwell—whose name appeared in the bills in gigantic letters—quavered away in most extraordinary style. . . . Every building I erect is profaned, and instead of assisting in conversions only serves to disgust people. . . . The service as performed in Catholic chapels in general is a perfect mockery of the real thing, and you have no idea of the mischief all this does among men of devout minds who come to our churches expecting solemnity and finding a mere theatrical exhibition.[21]

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[20] *Ibid.*, II, 205.

[21] Pugin to de Lisle, December 18, 1840 (Purcell, II, 214). Pugin later expressed his disillusionment in terms similar to de Lisle's: "The Oxford men with some few exceptions have turned out the most disappointing people in the world. . . . They have got the most disgusting place possible for the Oratory in London, and fitted up in a horrible manner, with a sort of Anglo-Roman altar. . . . A man may be judged by his feelings on Plain Chaunt. By their music you shall know them, and I lost all faith in the Oratorians when I found they were opposed to the old song." (*Ibid.*, II, 218.)

It can be seen from these letters that de Lisle and Pugin conflicted with two different schools of thought in these matters at different times of their lives, in the beginning with the old Catholic clergy and later with the Oxford converts who joined Newman and Faber. It is hard not to find some sympathy for them in spite of the extreme exclusivism of their conclusions. De Lisle's real hostility, both to the theatrical exhibitions indulged in by the old Catholics and to the excessive Italianizing of Father Faber, was based on his awareness that there had once existed in England a full and satisfying form of the liturgy, the Sarum Rite, which could, he believed, still be used. It was his opinion that any bishop could command its use in the area under his jurisdiction. There was, therefore, no need to seek elsewhere for forms of devotion which had no roots in national practice. De Lisle was in many ways a nationalist in matters of religious practice, without necessarily thinking in Gallican terms on matters of doctrine, a point which his critics often preferred to ignore. We can nowadays with some justification have a healthy distrust of the abuse of nationalism in religious affairs; but when we are concerned with ceremonies alone, there is no reason why national quirks and traits should not be given some exercise in the praise of God, though we might hesitate to express ourselves on this point with the force de Lisle used in writing of the Oratorians to Montalembert:

> . . . as for the spreading of Catholicism in England, it is either trifling or of a very dubious character. First, I fear it is trifling in amount, for after all the number of conversions is very scanty, not at all what I used to expect, and in the next place with few exceptions it does not consist of persons of much influence or of much mind. On the contrary with 3 or 4 exceptions, the Converts have taken a line far from calculated to recommend Catholicism to the English mind. From a mistaken zeal for the Roman See, and for Transalpine practises, they have been led to confound with Catholicism all the bad taste and even abuses that prevail in Italy, they are declared enemies of what *we* call Xtian art, of Gothick architecture, and of every old English or Northern European souvenir of Catholicism. The Middle Ages they decry as fiercely as the most violent Protestant could wish. The Mediaeval Saints they have no sympathy with and nothing will do for them but the most modern developments of the Church, as they call them in their odious slang. When they publish Lives of the Saints or books of devotion, they must needs give us the popular phrases of Italy translated with a servile adherence to the Letter, and in a style calculated to shock instead of to win the Protestant mind. They

discard the majestic mediaeval vestments, which with such care and success we had restored in England with the full sanction of the Apostolic See, and they import in their place the detestable Chasubles of Rome, and instead of our noble old English Surplice the ludicrous crimped cotta such as you may seen worn by those *questionable beings* (!) that sing in the Papal Chapels at Rome.[22]

A later letter developed a hostility to the idea of Rome itself, not, as its author was careful to point out, the Rome of the Apostolic See, but Rome as the center of Italian liturgical practices:

If the English mind is to be recalled to the love of Catholicism it must be by shewing that our Divine Religion is what it was when England was one in Faith and the devoted daughter of the *Apostolic See*. I say the *Apostolic See*, for those words always convey to my mind I know not what of a different idea from what is conveyed by the word "Rome." Which latter somehow or other I associate with the idea of assassins armed with Stilettos, with revolutionaries rising against their sovereign, infidels driving away the Successor of St Peter, Monsignori's and Abbati's in an unclerical looking *shabby genteel* sort of dress, Church offices abandoned or hurried over, theatrical music turning out the melodies of St Gregory in disgrace, the anatomical displays of Michael Angelo and a hundred other Painter's in their disgusting delineations of forbidden unseemliness substituted for the pure and holy art of Angelico and the Christian School, and last not least the resolute determination of the upholders of these degradations to force the same on all Catholics, wherever they may be, and so stifle at once any aspirations after past glories and bygone sanctities. All this rushes to my mind when I pronounce the word "Rome," but thank God the black vision departs when I think of the *Apostolic See*—That I love the other I hate: for most truly are these two now divorced, I believe never again to be reunited.[23]

The excesses and errors (as he saw them) of the Oratorians were a particular shock and disappointment to de Lisle because they were the first fruits of the movement of reunion of the Anglican Church with the Catholic Church toward which he had bent his principal endeavors. Unlike many converts of his day, he had retained a con-

[22] De Lisle to Montalembert, November 19, 1851, in the archives of La Roche-en-Brénil. I am indebted to the Count and Countess André de Montalembert for permission to quote this letter and the following, which come from the de Lisle side of the Montalembert-de Lisle correspondence, being published in the *Dublin Review* during 1954.

[23] De Lisle to Montalembert, November 19, 1853.

siderable affection for the Anglican Church in which he had been brought up. His way of showing this affection was to work and pray, not so much for the conversions of individuals from that Church, but for the corporate reunion of the entire Anglican body to the Catholic Church. This was the chief bone of contention between himself and other leading Catholics, who, while welcoming the Oxford men, would naturally not take the responsibility of telling them to remain in their church in order to leaven the whole body and bring it with them in their conversion. Wiseman was quite clear on this point: once a clergyman of the Church of England saw he was in error, it was imperative upon him to obey the light of truth which had been revealed to him and not delay one instant, even if he thought that his delay might bring about the conversion of the entire body of his fellows. Wiseman did not believe in the validity of Anglican orders, but Ward tells us[24] that he was advised by Lingard not to argue on the basis of their invalidity, presumably because to Lingard the point then seemed difficult of proof.

But it does seem evident, from a reading of certain letters of de Lisle, that *he* was more than inclined to believe that Anglican orders *were* valid, that the Anglican Church was simply in a state of schism, and that a movement on the part of the most intelligent and holy of her members was taking place to bring her back into the original unity from which she had strayed. It was in this sense that he began to write, from 1839 onwards, in the French paper *L'Univers*. An examination of this most interesting series of letters on the Tractarian movement, sent to this paper over a period of about five years, reveals, as we might, perhaps, expect, that the note of millennial enthusiasm is rarely absent from them. He was sure they were on the brink of mass conversions, or of a corporate return to Rome of the Church of England. There was certainly more to be said for this attitude, with all it implies of love and charity for those misled by error, than the attitude, then much commoner among English Catholics, of scorn and mistrust of the "Puseyites" who were regularly flayed for their pretensions in the columns of the *Tablet*, in spite of the gentler though forcible polemics of Bishop Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*.

[24] Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (London, 1897), I, 300.

Meanwhile De Lisle had struck up a friendship with one of the prime movers of the later Tractarians, John Rouse Bloxam, the friend of Newman. He and de Lisle conducted a correspondence on the possibilities of reunion, which was notable for an almost excessive feeling of caution and reserve on Bloxam's part, and a certainly excessive enthusiasm on the part of de Lisle, who felt destined to act as the intermediary between Rome and the Church of England in this matter, which would be, he felt sure, the preliminary to a final reunion of Christendom. De Lisle persuaded the Oxford men to subscribe to the *Univers*,[25] and he even managed to have one of them, John Dobree Dalgairns, write a long letter to it,[26] giving the views of the extremist party, though at the time he himself thought the letter represented the views of the majority, and Dalgairns of much more importance than he actually was. It was from reading this letter that Father Dominic was ultimately brought in touch with Newman, by frequent correspondence with Dalgairns on the subject of the letter, continuing throughout the whole period spent by Dalgairns in the tiny community of Littlemore. De Lisle also successfully inoculated Jules Gondon, the English correspondent of the *Univers*, with his own enthusiasm, as Gondon's book shows. He tried, but failed, to do the same with Montalembert, who expressed great indignation, in his letter to the Cambridge Camden Society (a group of ritualists) published in the *Dublin Review* in 1844, that a church such as the Anglican Church, which had persecuted the true Church for centuries, should now presume to adopt the name of Catholic for itself. Not that de Lisle's enthusiasm was shared by the Oxford men, or by the majority of them. Newman was almost conspiratorially prudent, and on learning of de Lisle's wish to introduce some priests from the continent to England to assist the Anglican divines in the work of conversion[27] as it was put by the *Univers*, he rebuffed the suggestion in the course of a letter to Bloxam, saying, "If Mr. Phillipps wishes to extinguish the Catholick movement among us, he

[25] ". . . the *Univers* is the great Ecclesiastical Paper of the whole Continent, and our Holy Father, Pope Gregory himself, is a subscriber to it, and reads it every day" (de Lisle to Bloxam, February 23, 1841). I am indebted to the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for permission to use this and other material from Bloxam's MS. *Reunion*.

[26] *Univers*, April 13, 1841.

[27] R. D. Middleton, *Newman and Bloxam* (London, 1947), p. 117.

cannot take a better way than by introducing foreign divines to Oxford."[28]

This cannot have been a final prohibition, and it seems to have governed Newman's own conduct rather than that of his colleagues, for several French priests visited Oxford during the years 1840-1845, usually through the intervention of de Lisle. Canon Robert of Tours and Rouen wrote two books, one of controversy, the other of reminiscence, on his stay there;[29] Canon Hilaire Lorain of Langres came and made permanent friendships with some of the Oxford men; as did the Abbé Haffreingue of Boulogne, the Benedictine scholar Dom Jean-Baptiste (later Cardinal) Pitra, and several others from France and Belgium. And of course on the other side, often as a result of introductions provided by de Lisle, Oxford men toured French, Belgian, German, and Italian churches and monasteries, e. g., T. W. Allies, F. W. Faber, Dalgairns; and a Cambridge man, Christopher Wordsworth (later Bishop of Lincoln), who wrote a fascinating account of the state of contemporary French Catholicism in his *Diary in France*.[30]

Phillipps de Lisle conveyed to the Oxford men that in the case of reunion great concessions would be made by the Holy See to smooth their path. It was never clear on whose authority he made these offers, but it is certain that neither Gregory XVI nor Pius IX would have permitted him to speak in their name in conveying such sweeping concessions as the following: the word "transubstantiation," he thought, could be excluded from any creed which Anglicans might have to accept. "You shall lay aside," he wrote to Bloxam,

> your modern Common Prayer, we our Roman Rite, and let the antient rites of Sarum and York resume their place. . . . The Holy See would give every *facility* for the restoration of Catholick Unity in England. Thus the present Bishops and Priests might retain their wives, and even certain relaxations of the antient Canons might be permitted in future for the Anglican Clergy, if they desired it before God. . . . On the Sacraments, barring the usurpations over the Church by State despotism in order to favour the Geneva Divines and their party for secular reasons, there is no difference that I could ever learn between the real Anglicans

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[28] Newman to Bloxam, March 3, 1841 (Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 128).

[29] Jean François Robert, *Divinité du Catholicisme démontrée à un docteur d'Oxford* (Paris, 1841); *Souvenirs d'Angleterre* (Lille, 1841).

[30] London, 1845.

and ourselves. . . . The real presence of Christ in the Eucharist is the mystery which the Church Universal has ever taught, provided this be believed with simple Faith. This Mother of Love will not quarrel about the use of a *word:* certainly she has judged that word to be the most expressive of her belief, but she adopted it, she may lay it aside, at least in England, especially as the Greeks, whom we have ever deemed Orthodox and Catholick on this head, have never made use of this word, but from all antiquity have adopted another to their minds more expressive of the great truth, the sublime, the precious, the lovely mystery *believed equally* by each.[31]

It is interesting to note that de Lisle was prepared to give away on this point much more than Catholics who had taken part in earlier negotiations of a similar nature. Louis Du Pin, in his correspondence with Archbishop William Wake, would not consent to the merely optional use of the word transubstantiation, and the term had been conceded on the Protestant side by Leibniz in negotiations with Bossuet.

Four people to whom de Lisle developed his views on reunion were, on the Anglican side, Newman and Bloxam, and on the Catholic side, Wiseman and Charles Cardinal Acton. De Lisle did not have a protracted correspondence with Acton, but wrote one long letter to him outlining his opinions on the Oxford Movement as he would have wished them to be presented to the Holy See. Clearly the cardinal did not require the information given in it for himself alone; it was to be passed to a higher authority. That is why in this letter we miss a certain extreme optimism that de Lisle was wont to use in writing to his other correspondents. So he said, speaking of the Oxford men's desire to make Anglicanism take on a Catholic instead of a Protestant bent,

an immense mass of anti-Catholick prejudice still existed in the minds of the generality of Englishmen, it was necessary to bring them on by degrees to communicate religious knowledge to them with a *holy reserve;* thence they (*i.e. the Tractarians*) judged that the first step was to prove that the English Church (however committed to Protestant heresy *in many respects*) was not so Protestant as the popular notion of Her implied: that She nowhere in Her liturgy used the term *Protestant,* but always professed reverence and belief of the *Catholick Church*: that though Her *articles* were certainly Protestant if taken in their strict

[31] De Lisle to Bloxam, January 25, 1841 (Middleton, *op. cit.,* pp. 105-115).

Literal sense, yet even these the English Church in Her convocation of 1572 had ordered not to be otherwise interpreted *than in accordance with the unanimous teaching of the antient Catholick Fathers and Doctors of the Primitive Church.*[32]

On the point of Anglican Orders, he reported a supposed vision of Newman's, but was careful to add the reservation made by his original informant, William George Ward (a reservation which, incidentally, can only have been acceptable to very few at the time):

Another Oxford Divine told me *vivâ voce* that Newman saw Our Lord in the Host, as he celebrated in St. Mary's Church, and he added that his vision was manifested in order to prove to them the validity of the orders of the Anglican Church. He said, however, and others confirmed the statement, that they would be ready to submit to reordination to satisfy the scruples of Catholicks, if the Pope required it when the Reunion shall take place. . . .[33]

The last phrase reveals a constant element in de Lisle's thinking on the subject of reunion. Whenever he wrote about it, and whenever his correspondents (Anglican or Catholic) thought he was going too fast, he was careful to seem to insist that things must be taken steadily. To Cardinal Acton he admitted: "We must not, however, expect anything very *immediate*, an immense work remains to be done, an immense mass of prejudice remains to be cleared away . . ." but he went on: ". . . this, however, need not dishearten us, for it is wonderful how *rapidly* men are now changing for the better, what formerly was the work of a generation seems now to be accomplished in a year."[34] De Lisle's declaration as to the slowness of the reunion must be viewed in the light of this statement. "Slow," to his contemporaries, seems to have meant "in the course of a century or so," "in a few generations." To de Lisle it obviously meant "a few years" "a decade or so" rather than a few months.

Newman's views were diametrically opposed to these. At Oxford he hesitated to meet Catholics at all for fear of gossip and declared,

[32] De Lisle to Acton, July 22, 1842 (Purcell, I, 232-233).

[33] *Ibid.*, I, 236. Admittedly de Lisle did qualify his report by calling such visions "supposed supernatural communications," but from what we know of his character I see no reason to assume that he did not believe they had actually taken place.

[34] *Ibid.*, I, 237.

via Bloxam, that if the Catholic Church accepted Anglican converts, she would be doing a great disservice to the cause of reunion, which was itself, however, an extremely remote end. To de Lisle he wrote:

> In your letter to Mr. B. [Bloxam] (if I recollect rightly) you urge persons whose views agree with mine to *commence a movement* in behalf of a union between the Churches. Now in the letters I have written to yourself or your friends I have uniformly said that I did not expect the reunion of the Churches in our time, and have discouraged the notion of all sudden proceedings with a view to it.[35]

Even before this straightforward rebuff Newman had attempted to dissuade de Lisle by the retort courteous:

> I am very anxious lest you should be entertaining sanguine hopes in which you may be disappointed. You overrate our exertions, our influence, our tendencies. We are but a few, and we are what we are. Many times before now in the course of the last three hundred years has a hope of concord arisen among Christians, but as yet it has ever come to nothing. When was a great schism ever healed? Why should ours cease, if that between East and West has continued so long? . . . No, I feel that both parties must resign themselves to dying in their estrangement; but that is no reason why they should not, though they be a few against many, both pray and labour against it.[36]

Why was de Lisle not permanently depressed by such discouragement, which came from both sides? When we examine this point we encounter one of his chief weaknesses. He believed to an absurd degree in prophecy concerning himself and as interpreted by himself. In a letter to Canon Macdonnell who had received him into the Catholic Church, he recalled the vision of a holy man, Marco Carrichia, in Rome in 1831 concerning his future:

> I said "But how will the conversion of England come?" He said "There will be a great movement of the learned men of that kingdom, and this shall be the sign of the near accomplishment of the event. God has chosen you to work with them, and to confound human pride; and know this for certain, that you shall not see Death till you have seen All England united to the Catholic Faith."[37]

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[35] Newman to de Lisle, June 28, 1841 (Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 150).
[36] Same to same, April 16, 1841 (Purcell, I, 224-225).
[37] De Lisle to Macdonnell, August 31, 1859 (Purcell, I, 31).

Lady Mary Arundel had made a prophecy in the same vein the year before: "You will be the first founder or rather restorer," she said, "of monastic institutions in this wretched country, such is my prophecy, mark my words."[38] He was able to carry this latter prediction into fulfillment himself. Small wonder that he should attach importance to the other one, and feel that Newman, Bloxam, Wiseman, *et al.*, were not endowed with the completeness and certainty of his vision of reunion, that the movement of the Anglicans to the Catholic Church was simply a question of time, and the time was likely to be short. He gave the same kind of credence to his own interpretations of the Apocalypse, whereby he attempted to prove that Mahomet was the Antichrist and, therefore, that the New Testament fully supported Gladstone's policy of hostility to Turkish interests in the Near East. Here we can lay our finger on the reason why his contemporaries, though they often loved de Lisle, and sometimes accepted his opinions, always felt that he was too impetuous, that his reasoned views were inextricably mingled with irrational enthusiasms. On his predictions he wrote to Bloxam:

> During the Millenium it is the common opinion of Catholick Theologians of the present day that the world will be under a Theocracy administered by the Pope and the Bishops: others think there will be Kings, who will govern entirely by the maxims of the Church, but all are agreed that there will be then no more wars, no more heresies, no more schisms, but a heavenly peace, harmony, and brotherly love all over the earth, for Satan will then be chained for a thousand years. After the Millenium comes the final apostacy and the Day of Judgment, which Father Rosmini, that sublime theologian in the North of Italy, thinks will not be before the year of Our Lord 4000, allowing a thousand years for Millenium, and 1000 years for the final apostacy.[39]

One's conviction, which might have been won to de Lisle's argument on reunion in the course of the same letter, is considerably shaken on reading these opinions which seem to reflect the brimming optimism of the Victorian age as much as, if not more than, a theological interpretation of Scripture. Yet a further vision is reported by his biographer:

[38] Lady Arundel to de Lisle, June 9, 1830 (Purcell, I, 53).

[39] De Lisle to Bloxam, November 29, 1841 (MS. *Reunion*, Magdalen College, Oxford).

. . . De Lisle attributed his conversion to the Catholic Faith in no small degree to a vision he saw in the heavens when he was still a schoolboy at Maizemore Court, near the banks of the Severn, when the mysterious voice which in broad daylight announced to him that Mahomet was the Antichrist of Prophecy "because he denied the Father and the Son," relieved him forever from the superstition in which he had been brought up that as Rome was the Babylon of the Apocalypse, so was the Pope the Man of Sin of St. Paul, the False Prophet of Revelations, the Antichrist of St. John, and the Little Horn of the Prophet Daniel. One of the great questions which henceforth occupied his mind was to test by study the truth of this Revelation—that Mahomet is the Antichrist, which in the opinion of most modern writers is held to be not proven, for the very reason that they hold that the Son of Perdition has not yet appeared, and that he will not come until close upon the end of the world.[40]

It seems clear from this account that, although de Lisle changed the articles of his belief when he was converted to Catholicism, a certain apocalyptic quality remained in the condition of his belief, and caused him to discuss the symbolism of the liturgy and the history of schism in the same breath as the wildest speculations on scriptural prophecy.

We have seen how the first group of Oxford converts, those linked with Newman and Faber, had proved a great disappointment to de Lisle. They seemed to be doing only those things most likely to prevent any full reunion of the churches ever taking place. Some other means had, therefore, to be devised to make a firm link with the Church of England and to start the project of reunion once more. The slow pace of conversions after 1851 made him wish for stronger measures more likely to bring quick results; or so he imagined. With Dr. F. G. Lee, an Anglican clergyman, in 1857 he founded the Association for the Promotion of Unity in Christendom, or A.P.U.C. as it became known by its initials. As usual, he was far too sanguine in his notions of what this might bring about. As early as 1841 a letter written to Lord Shrewsbury showed the state of mind in which he approached the whole business of reunion:

I would aim at what I believe to be the *readiest way* to unite not only individuals but *their whole Church* to the Catholick Church . . . our great object should be . . . to bring the great body of the *leading Anglicans* to such a state of mind, that the State shall be obliged to open negociations

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[40] Purcell, II, 101.

with the Holy See for the *reunion of the Churches,* the effect of which would be the re-establishment of the Catholick Religion in England. Now whom do I mean by the *leading Anglicans?* . . . I mean *the influential clergy of their communion,* the *Oxford Divines* in a word, who are incontestably the most influential men in the Church of England at the present day. From my communications with these Men, I will take upon myself to assert, that if only we *Catholicks* manage them as we ought, conduct ourselves towards them as we ought, the reunion of the Churches at no very distant period is a result, which must *infallibly* follow.[41]

There seem to be two very obvious reasons for de Lisle's insistence on corporate reunion at the expense of individual conversion: he was convinced that the Church of England was, as he wrote to the editor of the *Union,* "undoubtedly the same organic body as that which Pope Gregory founded in the 8th (*sic*) century";[42] and secondly that Anglican Orders were valid. On one occasion he desisted from a controversy with an Anglican on this point because he felt their invalidity was incapable of being demonstrated. "As far as my own feelings and wishes are concerned," he had then written,[43] "I have always wished that the Anglican orders might be admitted, as I am certain it would be a great point gained towards the reunion of the *High Church Party* with the Catholic Church and I am inclined to think that if a certain number of the leading English Catholicks were agreed to this, the Holy See would be very glad to open a negotiation with the Oxford Divines on the basis of this admission." And to Bloxam he later stated: "I at least am disposed to admit the genuineness of the Anglican orders. . . ."[44]

In part of this matter de Lisle was, of course, in quite distinguished company. In 1857 Newman, rather incautiously for him, wrote from Dublin, saying:

I perfectly agree with you in thinking that the movement of 1833 is not over in the country, whatever be the state of Oxford itself; also, I think it is for the *interest* of Catholicism that individuals should not join us, but should remain to leaven the mass,—I mean that they will do more for us by remaining where they are than by coming over, but then [and here Newman added the reservation Wiseman had made years before]

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41 De Lisle to Shrewsbury (*ibid.,* I, 354-355).
42 De Lisle to editor of *Union,* March 6, 1857 (*ibid.,* p. 358).
43 De Lisle to Father Proctor, June 1, 1839 (*ibid.,* p. 361).
44 De Lisle to Bloxam, January 25, 1841 (Middleton, *op. cit.,* p. 109).

they have individual souls, and with what heart can I do anything to induce them to preach to others, if they themselves thereby become castaways?[45]

A false impression was given to continental Catholics, and to Rome in particular, from the very beginning of the A.P.U.C., by the translation of its articles into French and Latin. The English text stated specifically that its object was unity of all those who *claimed* to belong to the Christian Church, whereas the French and Latin versions implied that the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Churches were all equal. De Lisle realized that a doctrinal *faux pas* had been committed here, but thought that the great promise of the association would outweigh the apparent compromise in the verbal forms of its articles. He wrote to Alessandro Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, that ten Anglican bishops and 2,000 clergy were ready "to reconcile as soon as possible their own Church with the Holy See."[46] There were those in Rome who knew what nonsense this was. But to make sure that it was not taken seriously, Wiseman wrote a memorandum to Propaganda to puncture these illusions. In it he pointed out that any movement of the High Church party would have to take into account Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, and Henry Philpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, and that de Lisle was confident these two were in agreement with him. "But," said Wiseman, "they would never move a step in the direction of submission to the authority of the true Church or of her supreme Hierarch. Who, then, would be their followers, since the rest (excepting two who counted for very little) were much worse? . . . It was the most complete illusion in the world; and with all the stretching possible, he did not make up his ten. . . . As for the favour with which politicians were supposed to regard the system, there was not a shadow of foundation; on the contrary, the persons whom he named, in Parliament and elsewhere, had given unmistakable signs of their hatred of Catholicism."[47]

As a result of these representations and those of Manning, the A.P.U.C. was ultimately forbidden to Catholics in 1864, and de Lisle resigned from it, although with great regret. In this affair, as in so

[45] Newman to de Lisle, July 1, 1857 (Purcell, I, 368).
[46] De Lisle to Barnabò, May 18, 1857 (*ibid.*, I, 376).
[47] Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 484-485.

many others, the prophecy bug had worked on him. In his treatise, *On the Future Unity of Christendom,* he related the story of a Shrewsbury gardener, in the seventeenth century, who claimed that our Lord had appeared to him after communion and had said: "My son, I have heard your prayer so often poured out before me; I will have mercy upon England." When the gardener asked when this would be, the reply is supposed to have been: "Not now, but when England shall build as many churches as she destroyed at the change of religion, and when she shall restore and beautify the remainder."[48] De Lisle grasped at this prophecy with both hands and added: "It is a significant fact that during this century nearly all the ancient cathedrals have been restored and beautified, as well as some 4000 pre-reformation churches, not to speak of about 3000 new Anglican churches, which have been erected in the same space of time, all upon traditional lines, duly oriented, and in the national, pre-reformation Gothic style."[49] Clearly, then, the time of reunion was at hand, all that remained was to convince the opposition, in both camps, of its imminence and inevitability. This proved singularly difficult.

Not finally dismayed by the condemnation of A.P.U.C., de Lisle tried another tack. If corporate reunion could not be achieved by discussion and treaty between the Holy See and the Anglican Church, perhaps, another solution was possible: a Uniat Church, reconciled to the Holy See but separate from the Roman Catholics in England, existing alongside them but not being a part of them. Purcell published some correspondence with Manning on this subject; Manning was by no means favorable to the project, and as far as the Holy See was concerned, it came to nothing, though various Anglican members of the Order of Corporate Reunion, the net result of the scheme, ultimately became Catholics. This whole episode, in which de Lisle was again concerned with Dr. F. G. Lee, one of the "bishops" of the Order of Corporate Reunion, is by no means adequately treated by Purcell, and it has been suggested[50] that the de

[48] Purcell, I, 413. [49] *Ibid.*

[50] J. H. Crehan, "Black Market in Episcopal Orders?" *The Month,* CXCV (June, 1953), 352-358. The whole history of the A.P.U.C., the proposal of a Uniat Church, and the curious Order of Corporate Reunion, requires separate treatment. Father Crehan points out in this review of the Reverend H. R. Brandreth's biography of de Lisle's Anglican friend, *Dr. Lee of Lambeth* (London, 1953), that a search of the de Lisle Papers would provide much

Lisle Papers could provide much information on the question of the later relations between Lee, de Lisle, and the authorities in Rome. Purcell did, however, quote some letters from Newman on the issue, and it is clear from them that Newman did not feel very optimistic about the prospects of such a development. De Lisle sent him a pamphlet explaining what was proposed, and, in his reply, Newman gave a number of details, which indicated that he doubted whether Rome would favor such a proposal, or that it would do any good if it were realized:

> It seems to me a plausible scheme, but I am told few will feel inclined towards it of the Ritualists. I suppose the bodies would be considered so distinct that the members of the Roman rite could not receive the Sacraments or frequent the Churches of the Anglican rite, nor those of the Anglican, the Roman. However, it would be very difficult to avoid perpetual collision between the two bodies. . . . The Roman priests would be complaining that the rich splendid Anglican Church in their mission was drawing away at least the young generation, and sucking from them their poor offertory money, and the Anglicans would be very jealous of the Jesuits, Redemptorists, or Passionists who gave missions in their parishes. Indeed, the antagonism which now exists among us between the hierarchy and the new regulars would be repeated and that with greater intensity. A new Sacred Congregation would need to be formed at Rome to hear and settle the disputes which would occur in consequence. If the measure was sure to recover half England to the Church, the Holy See might think of it, but not otherwise. . . .[51]

It is comparatively easy to see, from this brief account of his various opinions, why de Lisle should have left a much slighter impression on the history of his times than certain of his contemporaries with the same interests and a similar position. He was a romantic, in the sense that his whole character was dominated by unbridled enthusiasms. Even this might not have been an obstacle to success, but his enthusiasms were on the whole of the non-infectious kind. He invariably exaggerated facts to fit them, and people in possession of

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interesting evidence in particular on the consecrations of certain members of the order. According to Purcell, de Lisle's correspondence and manuscripts were moved from Grace Dieu to Garendon, and then on his death to Onebarrow, later the residence of his son Gerard de Lisle. It is not known whether they are still there or have been dispersed.

[51] Newman to de Lisle, January 19, 1876 (Purcell, II, 26-27).

the facts simply discountenanced his views. Again, he was absurdly chiliastic. Each of his enthusiasms depended ultimately on a prophecy or a private revelation which had been made for his own personal benefit, or could be so used. He believed that supernatural messages had been conveyed to him on several occasions, on his monastic foundations, on the conversion of England, etc. The fulfillment of some of these predictions had been within his control, and he, therefore, assumed that since they had been fulfilled the others would inevitably follow, even when they were out of his control altogether. He never seems to have realized that "the interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy partakes of the nature of prophecy itself."[52]

His position and heritage should naturally have led him into politics. His political opinions are frequently and vehemently expressed in his letters. Like many of the Catholic aristocracy of the nineteenth century, he opposed O'Connell's linking of the Catholic cause with the fortunes of the Whigs, and was a strong supporter of the Conservative Party in his county, but never represented his locality in Parliament, and did nothing on a national scale in politics, as he might well have done, as his friends Gladstone and Montalembert did. He blamed his religious work, though without rancor or regret, for this abstention from politics but, in fact, with the interminable Victorian leisure (or what seems to be such at this remove of time) and his income after his father's death at his disposal, he could have engaged in the political field without undue loss to his religious activities. There can be little doubt that many of the Catholic bishops of the day would have welcomed such a diversion of his energies. Some of his romantic quirks are, of course, quite forgivable: his fervent preaching, with Pugin, that Gothic art was the only acceptable form of Christian art, seems fatuous to us today, and in de Lisle's and Pugin's writings it is carried to ridiculous extremes. But in the prose of Ruskin a development of this teaching convinced a whole age of architects and designers. Another reason for his being comparatively little remembered is that he left little of literary worth behind him. He was a very prolix letter writer, never using one word when twenty would do, and the same fault is evident in the many pamphlets he wrote on plain chant, on Gothic architecture, on reunion,

[52] Richard Simpson to Newman, April 11, 1859, Newman Papers, Archives of the Birmingham Oratory.

etc. Some of these, like Pusey's, reached the dimensions of small books, but only by virtue of unnecessary expansion. In spite of his wide reading and deep interest in many problems, he never wrote a really fully considered book which would have been of a kind to preserve his reputation; his time was lost in ephemeral controversy.

To return to the original basis of this article: why notice de Lisle at all? For several reasons—because of his position in his times, because, whether we are attracted by him as a person or not, he was the focus of a good deal of the most important religious activity of the nineteenth century in England, and lastly because on the whole one cannot help feeling that he often thought along the right lines. It is surely true, from the point of view of the Catholic Church as a society, that corporate reunion, if it is possible, is preferable to sporadic conversion of individuals. It made for a more complete religious life to found monastic establishments in England in addition to introducing missionary priests. It was aesthetically preferable to use the Gregorian chant instead of the motley choir and orchestra of Emancipation days. It was sensible to bring the Catholics out of their shell and confront English society at all levels with their opinions (even if hotly contested among themselves) on art, architecture, history, and politics to show that they did exist as a body with definite views on national affairs. It was useful and necessary that someone should act as go-between for French Catholics and the men of the Oxford Movement, if only to prevent the latter from taking too insular a view of Christianity.[53]

That one man, in greater or lesser degree, should have attempted all these things, and, in spite of innumerable strange quirks and caprices, have succeeded in at least some of them, is sufficient warrant for resurrecting him from the limbo of the two-volume Victorian biography and seeing him anew.

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[53] This may seem an impertinence. But even if one does not share Father Tristram's opinion on "the astonishing insularity of Oxford during the Tractarian period" [*Newman Centenary Essays* (London, 1945), p. 201], it is possible to suppose that without de Lisle's fruitful introductions the Tractarians would have been deprived of much information on the thought of Catholic Europe.

THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1878 IN THE DIOCESE OF NATCHEZ

By JOHN SCANLON*

Much has been written of late concerning the yellow fever epidemics of the last century, but little mention is made of the contribution of the Catholic Church during those days of tragedy. In fact, one meets here and there a paragraph such as the following:

> It may be said at once that the churches, as such, played little part in the epidemic. Clergymen doubtless presided at the earlier funerals, but none of them stood out as community leaders. The bells were rung and there were requests for public prayers; but if any parishes conducted organized relief work, it seems to have escaped the notice of the chroniclers.[1]

The heroic labors of priests and sisters in the Diocese of Natchez during the successive outbreaks of the fever from 1841, when the first bishop arrived, to 1899 when this pestilence made its last fatal appearance in Mississippi, have left a glorious tradition of self-sacrifice.

When the Diocese of Natchez, comprising the entire State of Mississippi, was erected on July 28, 1837, and its first bishop, John Joseph Chanche, S.S., took possession of his see in April, 1841, there was not a single Catholic church in the state, and only two priests were laboring among the 400,000 inhabitants.[2] Long before its establishment as a diocese, Mississippi had been frequently visited with the "southern scourge" or "yellow jack"—the dreaded yellow fever. The first reported appearance of the disease within the state was at Fort Maurepas, near Biloxi, Mississippi, on August 22, 1701, the victim being Antoine Lemoyne Sauvolle.[3] Of unknown origin

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[1] Richard H. Shryrock, "The Yellow Fever Epidemic, 1793-1805," contained in a volume edited by David Aaron, *America in Crisis: Fourteen Crucial Episodes in American History* (New York, 1952), p. 53. For a recent account of earlier outbreaks cf. John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge, 1953).

[2] Richard O. Gerow, *Catholicity in Mississippi* (Natchez, 1939), pp. 35 ff.

[3] *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1891), I, 298-299.

and having no known remedy, the yellow fever caused havoc among the people. Never having even the slightest idea that the disease was mosquito-borne, but rather attributing its rapid spread to contagion, the skilled and unskilled alike took false precautions, unhelpful, and, in many instances, even harmful to their own health.

During its first thirty-seven years the new diocese, struggling to recruit and to hold a native clergy, gave eight priests, nine Christian Brothers, and one religious sister, as victims of the yellow fever. The heavy toll included in one instance the bishop himself, James O. Van de Velde, S.J., second ordinary of the see. Twelve or more of the nineteen priests had contracted the fever. This, however, was to prove an eventual blessing, for one attack left the patient immune and Mississippi's most terrible epidemic was by this time imminent.

Invariably the disease accompanied the summer heat and became so regular that the first case would be awaited almost daily. In the summer and fall of 1878 the fever swept down upon Mississippi in the most violent and extensive epidemic in its history. The death list surpassed 3,000 reported victims, with nearly fifty towns and villages afflicted by the scourge.[4] By early August, 1878, the whole state was under the strain of tension. Suspicious cases were examined carefully at various places and each moment the inhabitants feared official announcement of yellow fever. On August 12, 1878, Grenada, Mississippi, declared its community in a state of epidemic and alarm yielded to panic. Flight was the only known safety, and of the 1,300 white population prior to the outbreak, about 325 remained at home. Of these few hundred, excepting those immune to the fever through previous attack, only five escaped the scourge. A considerable number of the 1,200 members composing the Negro population fled, but they soon returned. Negroes seemed almost naturally immune to the disease, and those among them who took the fever usually suffered only a mild stage which was seldom fatal.[5]

The news from Grenada fell heavily upon all sections of the state. On August 13 Father Patrick J. Cogan, pastor of Sacred Heart

[4] Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi, the Heart of the South* (Chicago, 1925), II, 214.

[5] John L. Power, *The Epidemic of 1878 in Mississippi—Report of the Yellow Fever Relief Work* (Jackson, 1879), p. 161.

Church at Canton, informed Bishop William Henry Elder in Vicksburg that "there were 65 cases there [Grenada] and twenty of them proved fatal."[6] With a view to the spiritual care of the afflicted, the pastor of St. Peter's Church in Jackson, the Reverend Henry A. Picherit, wired Elder on August 15: "135 cases of yellow fever and thirty deaths at Grenada. I am informed no priest there. Shall I go?"[7] The bishop scribbled his answer on the back of the telegram: "If Rev. Maurel cannot be found, and priest is needed, you go."

By mid-August Vicksburg was itself in the grip of the epidemic and there Bishop Elder personally served his suffering people. The bishop had left Natchez earlier in the month to conduct the annual retreat for the Sisters of Mercy at their motherhouse in Vicksburg. The episcopal calendar listed a visitation at Canton for August 18 to complete plans for a parochial school in that town, a return to the Vicksburg convent for canonical visitation and, then, back home to Natchez.[8] But with the outbreak of fever in Grenada and cases reported in Vicksburg, Father Cogan of Canton informed the bishop that he could not then enter Canton, as it was strictly quarantined against everybody and everything from Vicksburg.[9] Thus unable to attend to his business in Canton, Bishop Elder began the canonical visitation at the Vicksburg convent on August 16 with a promise to spend the whole of the following week there giving special instructions to some of the sisters. Manifesting, however, his desire to return to his flock in the event of an outbreak, he advised Father Mathurin F. Grignon, his vicar-general at Natchez, to telegraph him should the fever break out in the see city, and he likewise requested the orphans, and the sisters in charge, to make a novena and to offer other prayers for the diocese and the afflicted.[10]

The yellow fever epidemic of 1878 proved more disastrous to Vicksburg than had the bitter siege of the city during the War between the States. One report listed 1,040 known cases of fever and

[6] Archives of the Diocese of Natchez, Cogan to Elder, Canton, August 13, 1878. Since all the unpublished correspondence used in this article has been taken from this archives no further indication will be given in the footnotes that follow.

[7] Picherit to Elder, Jackson, August 15, 1878, telegram.

[8] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, August 8, 1878.

[9] Cogan to Elder, Canton, August 13, 1878.

[10] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, August 15, 1878.

326 deaths out of a total population of 2,500.[11] Mother Mary Bernard McGuire graphically described the beginnings of the epidemic in Vicksburg and the heroic work of the Sisters of Mercy for the plague-stricken during their time of trial. Speaking of the presence of Bishop Elder, she stated: "On the morning of the fifteenth, the Sisters were summoned to the community room to hear a few words from their beloved bishop. . . ."[12] The Bishop of Natchez was then quoted as having said:

> My dear Sisters: We are facing a dread pestilence; we must meet it with entire confidence in God and submission to His holy Will. You are prepared, whatever be the issue; while you were on the mount of prayer, pestilence stalked the valley. I will not say that it is at our door; it is in our midst. Reverend Mother cannot send you as usual to your mission homes, except to those few which quarantine has not reached. We must remain here together to be organized into bands for the visitation of the sick and the comfort of the dying. I bless you all, and I, myself, will stay to share your danger. Be of good cheer; God is your helper and protector. . . . [13]

Later that same day, August 15, the chief-of-staff at Charity Hospital in Vicksburg personally visited the Convent of Mercy and implored the superior to appoint sisters to the hospital "to bring order out of the chaos," that "not only the wards but even the corridors were full; men were lying on the floor, and the nurses had fled in terror."[14] Undaunted by the enormity of the task, the sisters took possession of the hospital. Many were brought back to the convent, victims of the fever. Five sisters, three of them newly professed, died.

Determined to be among his distressed people, Bishop Elder remained in Vicksburg, setting an example of Christian heroism for priests and religious as well as for the laity. However, it was not long before the undaunted prelate was himself smitten with the fever and brought to the verge of death. Elder must have been bedridden for several weeks, for the attack carried him so close to death that it was expected momentarily, so much so that some press reports entered his name among the obituary notices. Mother Bernard reported a relapse and the anointing of Bishop Elder, together with the fact

[11] Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State* (New York, 1938), p. 383.

[12] Mother Mary Bernard McGuire, *The Story of the Sisters of Mercy in Mississippi, 1860-1930* (New York, 1931), p. 82.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

that special vestments were brought from Natchez for his burial.[15] By the time of the recovery of the bishop the peril to life in the South had become a matter of national concern, and although only a decade separated the disaster from the cessation of the War between the States, the epidemic brought all sections together again in sympathy, understanding, and charity. In connection with the recovery of Bishop Elder there should be mentioned the heroic offering by a Sister of Charity of her own life in place of that of the bishop, an account of which will be related later in connection with the fever at Holly Springs.

Thus spared from death, the Bishop of Natchez suffered pain and grief at the sight of his depleted and destitute people. The death toll was high; frequent and almost daily dispatches announced the loss of another priest, another sister. The first death among the clergy occurred before the illness of the bishop when Father John H. McManus, pastor of St. Paul's Church, Vicksburg, succumbed to the fever on September 2. Father McManus had come to the Diocese of Natchez from Kentucky and was appointed assistant in Vicksburg in 1872. In 1876 he was made acting pastor of St. Paul's, Vicksburg, and became pastor there the following year, a position which he held until his death. Twelve days after the death of McManus the assistant priest in Vicksburg, Father John Vitolo, a native of Naples, Italy, who had arrived during November of the preceding year, died a victim of yellow fever. Thus the whole burden of caring for the sick now fell upon the shoulders of Bishop Elder. When the bishop fell sick, Father James J. Duffo, a Jesuit from New Orleans, was sent to Vicksburg to assist in the emergency.[16]

Hearing of the dire conditions in Vicksburg, the Bishop of Natchitoches, Francis Xavier Leray, offered his services to Bishop Elder and wired him that he would arrive in Vicksburg on Friday, September 6.[17] Although Leray was credited with unflinching and self-sacrificing labors on the Mississippi Gulf Coast during the month of

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[16] Vicksburg—History Notes; also Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, October 10, 1878.

[17] Leray to Elder, Shreveport, September 3, 1878. Upon the death of Archbishop Napoleon J. Perché in December, 1883, Leray became the fourth Archbishop of New Orleans.

October when the fever was at epidemic proportions there,[18] no record of his activities at Vicksburg is extant. It is likely, however, that Bishop Leray did attend Vicksburg, a city well known to him and dear to his heart, since he had served for nearly twenty years (1859-1877) as pastor of St. Paul's Church there until his elevation to the episcopacy in 1877.

Gradually as the truth of conditions in Vicksburg became known panic seized the people of every community in the state. Just north of Jackson the little town of Canton was among the first of the stricken areas. Father Cogan, the pastor there, told Bishop Elder: "I have never seen such a panic-stricken people in my life . . . many of the people in this town left last night and this morning."[19] Two weeks later Cogan penned his last letter, for on August 31 Father Picherit wired the bishop from Jackson stating that Fathers Cogan and John B. Duggan were ill, and informed the bishop that he was going to Canton.[20] Two days later he again telegraphed, this time from Canton, that the two priests were "very ill," and that he himself must return to Jackson.[21] When he learned that Elder had come down with the fever, Picherit hastened from Jackson to Vicksburg. In the meantime Father Thomas Lamy, C.SS.R., of New Orleans, who had volunteered his services, was sent to Canton and a few days later he notified Picherit in Vicksburg: "Father Cogan died Sunday. Father Duggan doing well."[22]

Early in August, when the "bronze jack" was on the verge of breaking out, Father Duggan of Sulphur Springs had offered to attend yellow fever patients wherever he might be needed and that would account for his presence in Canton.[23] In the middle of October he had been recalled to Vicksburg where the convalescent bishop reported him as "still very weak."[24] This transfer coincided with the appointment of Father Joseph L. Wise of Pascagoula to Canton.[25] By this time Wise had become an experienced fighter with yellow

[18] Leray to Elder, Pass Christian, October 17, 1878.
[19] Cogan to Elder, Canton, August 13, 1878.
[20] Picherit to Elder, Jackson, August 31, 1878, telegram.
[21] Same to same, Canton, September 2, 1878, telegram.
[22] Lamy to Picherit, Canton, September 9, 1878, telegram.
[23] Duggan to Elder, Canton, August 6, 1878.
[24] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, October 14, 1878.
[25] Same to same, Vicksburg, October 8, 1878.

fever, for he had had an earlier battle at Rodney and Port Gibson,[26] not to mention his having suffered an attack of the disease in 1875.[27]

With his mission to Port Gibson completed, it was no surprise to learn that Father Wise accepted Bishop Elder's assignment to Canton that he might relieve the spiritual distress of the people of that stricken community who were dying from the plague.[28] This little village had been sorely afflicted by the scourge during the middle of August,[29] and it was not until two months had passed that an encouraging word came from that vicinity. Father Wise informed the bishop in mid-October: "The plague here is abating. Still there is quite a number of cases. I am now occupying the priest's house. No mattress—no blankets—no sheets—in fact, nothing at all."[30] Ten days later he sent a sad picture of existing conditions in Canton and the plight of the survivors.[31] On the feast of All Saints, Father Wise stated that there were "no new cases—the good Sisters leave tonight. May God speed them, they have been models of Christian fortitude and examples of charity."[32]

These nuns, five Sisters of St. Mary originally called the Servants of the Divine Heart, had left their home at St. Mary's Convent in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 6 for the purpose of nursing the poor yellow fever sick in Canton. The only record available listed them simply as Sisters Josepha, Frances, Rosa, Petronella, and Johanna. The last named, Sister Johanna, took the fever on the fifth day after reaching Canton and died on September 17, the tenth day after her arrival. She had been a native of Germany who had been raised in St. Charles, Missouri, and she was twenty-eight years of age at the time of her death. Sister Johanna had entered the novitiate of St. Mary's only two years previously and had received the habit of the congregation on November 21, 1876.[33]

[26] Wise to Elder, Rodney, September 8, 1878, and Port Gibson, September 22 and 24, 1878.

[27] Gerow, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

[28] Wise to Elder, Canton, October 11, 1878.

[29] Cogan to Elder, Canton, August 26, 1878.

[30] Wise to Elder, Canton, October 11, 1878.

[31] Same to same, Canton, October 21, 1878.

[32] Same to same, Canton, November 1, 1878.

[33] Sisters of St. Mary, 1878.

Priests and sisters throughout the Diocese of Natchez, and, indeed, from all parts of the country, volunteered their services to the stricken areas, or at least offered financial assistance if they were unable to come in person. Typical of the spirit of self-sacrifice which the emergency had aroused was the action of Father John B. Mouton, pastor of Assumption Church at Yazoo City, who placed himself at the bishop's disposal, begging him "not to consider the dangers, but the duty which we owe to dying souls."[34] His "bronze majesty" was destined to reach into Yazoo City late, but, nonetheless, in a deadly form. Father Mouton was among the victims, as also the three Sisters of Charity operating the academy there. But the suspense mentioned by the pastor in his letter to the bishop, and the anxiety of the people who every day expected the epidemic, can only be imagined. Over a month later the townsfolk were still on the alert; the exodus of many had practically disrupted business.[35] On October 14 Mouton telegraphed Bishop Elder that the fever had reached them,[36] and two days later Father Philip Huber, who had recovered from the fever in Vicksburg, left Vicksburg in the company of two Sisters of Mercy to assist the priest and Sisters of Charity in Yazoo.[37]

The correspondence of Bishop Elder and Father Huber contained an almost day-by-day account of the fever victims in Yazoo. According to Huber, since "nearly all of the townspeople had evacuated, the convent seemed hardest hit."[38] Sister Zenobia succumbed on October 15, and the remaining six sisters were all down within the week.[39] Hence the two sisters from Vicksburg, with the assistance of two other nurses, had their hands more than full, and the wonder of it was that they were able to persevere under such strain. The second nun, Sister Corona, passed away on October 21, and on the following day the pastor, Father Mouton, died after an illness that had lasted only four days.[40]

With conditions so critical as they were in Yazoo City the bishop requested Sister M. Elizabeth and her band of sisters, presumably all from Emmitsburg, to depart from Vicksburg and go to the assist-

[34] Mouton to Elder, Yazoo City, August 26, 1878.
[35] Same to same, Yazoo City, October 8, 1878.
[36] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, October 14, 1878.
[37] Same to same, Vicksburg, October 18, 1878.
[38] Huber to Elder, October 25, 1878.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*

ance of the townspeople in Yazoo.[41] These sisters from the outside were recipients of the following tribute: "Deathless gratitude lives in the community's heart also for the devotion and self-sacrificing ministrations of the four Emmitsburg Sisters."[42] Nor were the Sisters of Mercy forgotten, for of them it was said:

> "To tell of their kindness," wrote one who had first hand observed it, "would be almost impossible. Day and night they were by our bedsides, trying to comfort us, to gratify our wishes, so far as possible. A mother could not have done more or been more self-sacrificing than were these good Sisters."[43]

Most of the Catholic families, to be sure, had deserted the town, along with their fellow citizens. In fact, according to reports from Father Huber, not five Catholic families remained in Yazoo City and attendance at Sunday Mass dwindled to only fifteen persons. There was such desolation among those who remained behind that it was a source of deep distress to the parish priest as attested in his letters. According to Huber's account even the superior of the convent, Sister Mary Lawrence, perplexed and troubled that the convent alone had seemed so heavily afflicted, longed to be with her departed sisters and her pastor.[44] Before the season ended, her prayer was granted and she, too, succumbed to the plague.

Closely connected with the epidemic at Yazoo City was the outbreak at the north Mississippi town of Holly Springs, which was located about fifty miles southeast of Memphis, Tennessee. Members of the same community of Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky, were here, too, conspicuous in their unflinching service to their fellowmen. It was only a decade earlier that a small group of sisters had come to Holly Springs, at the request of its citizens, to found the Academy of Bethlehem in 1868. Their work of educating the young was genuinely appreciated by all—the Catholic population numbered 200 at this time.[45] But the scourge of yellow fever interrupted their school work early in September, 1878, and of the twelve sisters in Holly Springs six fell victims to the disease and died. Because the

[41] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, October 21, 1878.

[42] Anna Blanche McGill, *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky* (New York, 1917), p. 181.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] Huber to Elder, Yazoo City, October 25, 1878.

[45] Holly Springs—History Notes; cf. also Parish Reports for 1878.

town remained unscathed while the epidemic raged in neighboring communities, the authorities in Holly Springs, falsely concluding that the germ had been rendered ineffective in their high, dry altitude, "threw open the door of the highest town in the State to fever refugees. Within a few months 2,000 fever victims were dead."[46] As happened in nearly every instance, many people left the community at the first signs of an outbreak. But the sisters remained on the scene, leaving their classrooms to nurse the sick. Among the first victims at Holly Springs was the pastor, Father Anacletus Oberti, who died on September 11, 1878. He had been born at Morra, Italy, in 1847, being but thirty-one years of age at the time of his death, and not yet seven years a priest. Arriving for duty in the missions of the Diocese of Natchez in 1872, he had spent the three following years at various Gulf Coast parishes before being transferred to Holly Springs on May 15, 1875.[47]

It was exactly one month after the death of Father Oberti that the sixth sister succumbed to the prevailing illness on October 11 when Sister Laurentia Harrison offered her own life that Bishop Elder's might be spared. The historian of the community described the incident as follows:

> A special halo of sacrifice aureoles the passing of this absolutely self-abnegating religious; she made a voluntary oblation of her own life for that of another. When the scourge was at its worst, among those who contracted it was a cherished friend and guide of the Sisters, Rev. W. J. [*sic*] Elder, then Bishop of Natchez, future Archbishop of Cincinnati. Realizing what a calamity his death at such a time would be to the church generally and to his already sorely tried diocese, Sister Laurentia offered up her own life that his might be spared. Years afterward, referring to this crowning act of sacrifice, Archbishop Elder wrote to the community: "I was expecting to die of yellow fever in 1878, when your generous Sister Laurentia Harrison at Holly Springs offered her own life for me. She asked to be spared long enough to attend to the other Sisters who were ill. And I believe that it was on returning from the funeral of the fifth (?) that she went to bed herself. . . ."[48]

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[46] Federal Writers' Project, *op. cit.*, p. 203. The number of dead reported here seems excessively large and out of proportion with the total recorded dead as quoted from Rowland on page 2.

[47] Holly Springs—History Notes.

[48] McGill, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

Such unselfish love would touch even a hardened heart. Yet Sister Laurentia was not alone in being remembered. There was another yellow fever victim whose heroic service was somewhat immortalized. The court house in Holly Springs had been converted into a hospital during those days of trial, and it was there that the sisters performed the works of mercy and charity which were so characteristic of them. A beautiful tribute was paid to one of the sisters by a certain Dr. R. M. Swearinger[49] of Austin, Texas, who himself had come to the aid of the afflicted. The doctor had written upon the wall of the court house the following:

LET NO ONE DEFACE THIS

Within this room, September, 1878, Sister Cointha sank into sleep eternal. Among the first to enter this realm of death, she was the last, save one, to leave. The writer of this humble notice saw in health, gentle but strong as she moved with noiseless step and serene smile through the crowded ward. He saw her when the yellow-plumed angel threw his golden shadows over the last sad scene, and eyes unused to weeping paid the tribute of tears to the brave and beautiful "Spirit of Mercy."

She needs no slab of Parisian marble
With its white and ghastly head,
To tell wanderers in the valley
The virtues of the dead.
Let the lily be her tombstone
And dewdrops pure and bright
The epitaphs the angels write
In the stillness of the night.

Although in the intervening years the walls of the building had been painted over and over again this inscription had been left untouched, until it was removed intact and sent to the Sisters of Charity in Nazareth, Kentucky.[50]

Grateful citizens of Holly Springs set aside a lot in the local cemetery for the priest and the sisters who had given their lives, and over their graves there was erected a stately bronze monument which carried the Latin inscription:

[49] Holly Springs—History Notes.

[50] Information obtained from Reverend Paul Frichtl, S.C.J., Holly Springs, Mississippi.

OBERTI ANACLETUS
ITALUS
Missionarius Zelotus
MONIALESQUE
Victoria, Cointha, Stanislaus,
Stella, Laurentia,
et Margarita

Immani Lue Grassante
PESTIFERIS MINISTRANTES
charitatis victimae,
occubuere
A.D. MDCCCLXXVIII

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam
GRATI CIVES.[51]

Conditions along the Mississippi Gulf Coast during that summer of 1878 were truly deplorable and the whole stretch of coastal towns was affected. During the last days of August, Father Charles van Queckelberge fell ill with yellow fever, among the first of the Ocean Springs' residents to be attacked. The Reverend Peter Chevalier of Biloxi administered the last sacraments to the stricken priest and he succumbed on September 10, the eleventh day after taking ill. Father Henry Leduc came over from Bay St. Louis and he and Chevalier buried the dead priest at night, offering Mass for the repose of his soul on the following morning. Leduc then remained at Ocean Springs until the return of the pastor, Theophilus Meerschaert, from Europe where he had been visiting his family since late April. Father Meerschaert reached the coast town on September 14 and immediately began a visitation of the sick and dying. It was his experience that, of the large number afflicted with the disease, none of those previously visited with the fever had suffered a second attack. For that reason he felt immune since he had already had yellow fever during a previous epidemic.[52]

During the first week of October, Bishop Leray informed the Bishop of Natchez that his own health was now somewhat improved

[51] "To the perpetual memory of the zealous pastor of souls, Anacletus Oberti of Italy, and Sisters Victoria, Cointha, Stanislaus, Stella, Laurentia, and Margaret, victims of charity who laid down their lives ministering to the afflicted during the horrible plague, 1878. A grateful townspeople."

[52] Meerschaert to Picherit, Ocean Springs, September 25, 1878.

and that he expected to return to Mississippi very soon.[53] The Bishop of Natchitoches, as previously mentioned, had hastened to Vicksburg in early September to relieve the distress there; he now planned to assist in the area along the shore line of the Mississippi Gulf where the fever was still steadily spreading from day to day. Leray told Elder that Father McKiniry, who had gone to Bay St. Louis to help the pastor there, had meanwhile taken the fever and in Biloxi Father Chevalier was likewise ill and a Jesuit priest, Father Usannas, had come to his assistance.[54]

Once arrived at Pass Christian, Bishop Leray's aid proved invaluable. The local pastor, Father Henry Georget, had suffered a severe attack of the fever and was close to death. Although Father Leduc from Bay St. Louis had been of service, he was unable to remain at the Pass, so the Bishop of Natchitoches now attended all sick calls, his strength improving every day. Although it was already the latter half of October, the fever was still spreading both in town and country. At this point Leray asked the Bishop of Natchez if he thought it advisable for him to return to Vicksburg to attend people in the Delta and points of his own diocese once Father Georget's health was restored. But at the moment this seemed a bit premature, considering the fact that Georget was still exceedingly weak, for he had twice fallen and had been unable to rise to his feet during the previous two days.[55]

At Bay St. Louis the pastor, Father Leduc, had been filling an heroic role. Not only had he administered to his own parishioners, but he had been substituting in practically every parish on the coast. His labors had been unceasing and part of the story was related to Bishop Elder when he stated:

> I have not yet written to your Lordship for a long time, you have been so sick and I have been so busy. For the last six weeks I have had hardly any rest. On the 10th of September I had to go and bury dear Father Charles Queckelberge and take his place for a few days till the arrival of Father Meerschaert; Father Georget fell sick afterwards; I had to go and attend to him and his sick calls; Father Chevalier fell sick likewise and telegraphed for me. A Jesuit priest went from the Bay to assist him,

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[53] Leray to Elder, New Orleans, October 7, 1878.
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] Leray to Elder, Pass Christian, October 17, 1878.

but I had to attend some of his sick calls on the Coast. Father Chevalier is doing well and attends to his duties. Father Meerschaert is in excellent health. The priest at Pascagoula wrote to me sometime ago—he was well then. The fever has started there since.

And then, I had my own troubles at home; the epidemic came at last and has been raging for over a month. We have had over 500 cases, and nearly one hundred deaths. There is hardly a family that has escaped—every day 2, 3, or 4 deaths. Yesterday we had 2 burials; today we have 2 likewise. Our dear Sisters have lost their mother-assistant [Sister Etiena], a superior lady lately arrived, and 2 scholars. The Brothers have nearly all been sick, but have lost none. Father McKiniry who was with me has been sick, Father Free was always unwell, and consequently they could not attend to sick calls. I have had the happiness of receiving in the Church several Protestants, but the great sorrow of burying some of my best children—misery here is extreme; the five hundred dollars you sent me will do the greatest good and relieve many. We are most thankful. . . .[56]

Such were some of the evidences of the havoc wrought by the yellow fever in the Diocese of Natchez during the summer and fall of 1878. Little wonder that the people were found praying so earnestly and awaiting so expectantly an early frost to end the great calamity. At that time no one knew why the frost killed the fever, for the origin of the mosquito-borne plague was then unsuspected, but from past experience all were certain a good frost would bring relief. During three disastrous months, from mid-August until mid-November, the "bronze jack" reaped its human harvest, claiming a few victims even into the month of December. This particular visitation was especially malignant and the victims seldom recovered. In many instances the doctors were practically helpless to bring aid. Such conditions explain the widespread panic, the interruption of communications, the difficulties of transportation, bankruptcy of business and the flight of the people into the country, the hills, and the woods, even flight into other states. There was no state board of health as yet in Mississippi, so each community took the only precaution it knew: complete isolation and absolute quarantine.

The devastation following in the wake of the epidemic was tremendous. Only through the generosity of charitable donors throughout the United States were the people of Mississippi able to begin

[56] Leduc to Elder, Bay St. Louis, October 23, 1878.

anew. It was hardly more than a decade before that the country had been torn by the strife of a terrible fratricidal war; now the bond of charity united the sections and the people into a union unknown since the outbreak of civil conflict in 1861. Of the hundreds of thousands of dollars flowing into the state to relieve the distressed victims, thousands came directly to Bishop Elder who had become nationally known by his heroic devotion to his stricken flock. And in his anxiety that none should be overlooked, the bishop had set up a fund for distribution to the needy and he personally had handled its administration. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered from the fever, he informed his vicar general: "Please send me a detailed statement of all the money that has been sent to you for the sufferers. Give the name and place and date and amount: and in whose name it is sent—and for what purpose."[57]

It was Bishop Elder's opinion that the offerings were intended chiefly for the sufferers from the yellow fever in actuality; yet he operated on the principle that in some respect all the poor, even in places where there had been no fever, were made poorer on account of the epidemic and hence were eligible for assistance.[58] The funds were distributed by the priests throughout the state, and there was no indication that a plea ever met refusal. On the contrary, the bishop usually sent more than was requested, knowing full well the extent to which the famished poor had suffered.

In many dioceses of the country, the bishops had ordered special collections in every parish and had forwarded the total amount to the chief southern cities ravaged by pestilence: Memphis, Vicksburg, and New Orleans. In other instances, pastors on their own initiative had made appeals and had sent their offerings directly. Various and sundry groups did their part. On the long list of donors, giving names, addresses, and the amounts of offerings, which is still preserved in the diocesan archives, twenty-four states were represented out of the thirty-eight in the Union at that time.[59] In many cases touching ex-

[57] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, October 10, 1878.

[58] Same to same, Vicksburg, October 14, 1878.

[59] Yellow Fever—Letters to Bishop Elder—1878. The states represented were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

pressions of sympathy accompanied the financial offerings. A grand total of $27,116.99 was recorded as having been received by the bishop from the list of donors for the relief of the sufferers of the epidemic.

Of very special concern to Bishop Elder and his priests throughout the state was the large number of orphans who had been left homeless by fever. By October 21 there were twenty-four orphans, of whom three were Negroes, in Vicksburg alone,[60] and from other sections of the diocese the clergy and sisters were gathering more. Those orphans whom they could not get into private homes were welcomed at the diocesan orphanages in Natchez even unto capacity.[61] Nor did capacity deter the charity of the laborers. Mother Mary Austin Carroll of St. Alphonsus Convent in New Orleans had instructed her Sisters of Mercy tending the sick to "bring home *every* orphan you find, whether attending the sick or in the barracks, or in the prison."[62] She wrote Bishop Elder offering shelter in New Orleans to any Mississippi children made homeless by the epidemic.[63]

Despite the heavy pall of grief and anguish overshadowing the hearts of Mississippians through these trying months, the picture would be left incomplete were one not to mention a further misfortune which befell the Catholics of the Diocese of Natchez at this time. Almost exactly coinciding with the outbreak of yellow fever there had come an announcement from Rome transferring Bishop Elder from the See of Natchez to the Archdiocese of San Francisco as coadjutor to Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany, O.P. The devotedness of his clergy to Elder was shown in their spontaneous protestation against the change and their pleas that he decline the proffered honor from the Holy See. Other prelates who knew Bishop Elder anticipated the protests, as was evidenced in a congratulatory message to him from Bishop William G. McCloskey of Louisville who prophetically concluded, "though I know what will be the feeling in Natchez."[64] This message was received while Bishop Elder was giving a retreat to the Sisters of Mercy in Vicksburg. He was not to leave Vicksburg until the epidemic had come and gone.

[60] Elder to Grignon, Vicksburg, October 21, 1878.
[61] Same to same, Vicksburg, October 14, 1878.
[62] Mother M. Austin to Elder, New Orleans, December 10, 1878.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] McCloskey to Elder, Louisville, August 12, 1878.

In late August, with Vicksburg already in the grip of yellow fever, the bishop received a letter from Father Mouton of Yazoo City, offering to come at once to relieve him. In keeping with the pathetic tone of the entire epistle was a striking paragraph in which the pastor lamented at the thought of losing the shepherd of the diocese. Mouton said:

> I feel very much grieved and anxious to know whether or not we ought to rely on the assertion of the *Morning Star* stating that you have accepted the appointment of Coadjutor of the Archbishop of San Francisco; probably you think I ought to rejoice at your exaltation, but I cannot. Twenty years, nearly, have I worked under your paternal administration, stimulated by your example, encouraged by your spirit of sacrifice. It will be a severe trial, the heaviest I have had to bear since I came to America.[65]

A month later, when the fever had spread its venom over the state and had claimed so many lives, Mouton again wrote of his anxiety for the physical well-being of the bishop and of the flock committed to his care, dwelling for a moment upon the need of the people for his continued presence among them. He remarked:

> Dear Bishop, I cannot express to you how sad I feel. Five priests and ten sisters or more have to be replaced. For the first time since I came to Mississippi I feel discouraged, when I think that the worst has not come yet—if we have to lose you to San Francisco. It would be hard to bear the thought of it in ordinary times, but in our affliction it is disheartening for anyone who feels interested in the welfare of the Church.[66]

Shortly afterward, when Father Huber had left Vicksburg to assist Father Mouton in caring for fever victims in Yazoo City, he wrote back notifying the bishop that Mouton himself was ill, and he added in his own colorful way: "I hope, dear Bishop, that you are now entirely convalescent and that you will hold on to the Mitre of Mississippi until God calls us all to rest from our labors."[67]

But Father Mouton in the end succumbed to the yellow fever—the last of the priest-victims of this scourge of '78. Having received the death message by wire from Vicksburg, Father Leduc at Bay St.

[65] Mouton to Elder, Yazoo City, August 26, 1878.
[66] Mouton to Elder, Yazoo City, October 8, 1878.
[67] Huber to Elder, Bay St. Louis, October 19, 1878.

Louis sat down to express to the bishop the spirit of desolation that had overtaken him. He said:

> Monseigneur: Your telegram bringing the sad news of Father Mouton's death has been received this morning. It fills my heart with sorrow and grief. We are very sorely tried. What a loss for our dear diocese! When shall we have other priests like the ones we have lost? Father Mouton, Father McManus, Father Charles, Father Cogan, Father Oberti, Father Vitolo! What names! How zealous! self-sacrificing and devoted they were! Almighty God has picked the victims and chosen the very best ones; His ways are truly incomprehensible. Our hearts are sorrowful to death, but it is God's holy will; we are then bound to submit, and to exclaim with our Lord: "My Father, your will be done and not mine." Oh! if yet we could keep our beloved Bishop to guide us and console us! But no, if rumors prove true, we will, I own, lose him, and see him probably no more. Monseigneur, this is too much; you cannot leave us in our troubles and difficulties. If Rome was told of every thing, she would change her sentence. She ought to be told. Monseigneur, would you not write? We would be so thankful to Almighty God and to you, should you remain among us. . . .[68]

In the sequel Bishop Elder did write to Rome and as a consequence of his representations he remained with his devoted priests and people in Mississippi for one more year. At length in January, 1880, he was appointed Coadjutor Archbishop of Cincinnati to the aging John B. Purcell. This time bishop, clergy, and people bowed to the will of the Holy See.[69]

During the epidemic of yellow fever that swept through Mississippi in 1878 the diocesan clergy and religious women displayed a rare heroism in serving their suffering fellowmen. Six priests and sixteen sisters laid down their lives within the diocese during these two months. Considering the fact that the Diocese of Natchez numbered at the time only twenty-five priests, and that the first community of sisters had arrived only thirty years previous to the epidemic of 1878, one can understand the cruel sense of loss that burdened Bishop Elder as the death messages reached him day after day during those sad months. Moreover, between 1853 and 1878 the diocese had lost seven other priests in previous visitations of this disease. Listed below are

[68] Leduc to Elder, Bay St. Louis, October 23, 1878.

[69] Richard O. Gerow, *Cradle Days of St. Mary's at Natchez* (Marrero, Louisiana, 1941), p. 193.

the names of the victims, arranged according to the chronological order of their deaths, together with the place and date:

Reverend John H. McManus	Vicksburg	September 2
Sister Mary Regis Grant, R.S.M.	Vicksburg	September 6
Sister Mary Bernadine Murray, R.S.M.	Vicksburg	September 7
Reverend Patrick J. Cogan	Canton	September 8
Reverend Charles van Queckelberge	Ocean Springs	September 10
Sister Columba McGrath, R.S.M.	Vicksburg	September 10
Reverend Anacletus Oberti	Holly Springs	September 11
Sister Gonzaga Daily, R.S.M.	Vicksburg	September 13
Reverend John Vitolo	Vicksburg	September 14
Sister Johanna	Canton	September 17
Sister Stanislaus Morissey, C.S.N.	Holly Springs	September 22
Sister Stella Fitzgerald, C.S.N.	Holly Springs	September 26
Sister Agnes Weaver, S.C.	Vicksburg	September 27
Sister Margaret Kelly, C.S.N.	Holly Springs	September 28
Sister Cointha Mahony, C.S.N.	Holly Springs	October 2
Sister Victoria Stafford, C.S.N.	Holly Springs	October 5
Sister Laurentia Harrison, C.S.N.	Holly Springs	October 11
Sister Zenobia, C.S.N.	Yazoo City	October 11
Sister Corona, C.S.N.	Yazoo City	October 21
Reverend John B. Mouton	Yazoo City	October 22
Sister Mary Lawrence, C.S.N.	Yazoo City	sometime after October 25
Sister Etiena, S.S.J.	Bay St. Louis	? ? ?[70]

Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
Biloxi, Mississippi

[70] The family names of the sisters are given in all cases where they were known.

MISCELLANY

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 28-30, 1953

The Association's thirty-fourth annual meeting was held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago on December 28-30, 1953, in conjunction with the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies. The registration of 142 was thirty-three above the 109 who registered at Washington in the previous Christmas week. There were, however, more than 142 members in attendance since all did not register. The registration fee of $1.00 may deter some from registering. In that connection it should be made clear that this fee is charged in order to cover, as far as possible, the expenses incurred by the annual meetings for such items as printing the program, telephone and telegraph messages, the luncheon for members of the Executive Council, and the cost of the mid-day meal for the young ladies from the local Catholic colleges who generously give their services in taking charge of the registration desk during the three days that the meeting is in session. The presidential luncheon at Chicago drew eighty-two which was four more than the Washington luncheon in 1952.

The business meeting was held on Monday morning, December 28, with President John T. Farrell in the chair. Reports for the year were read by George A. Reilly of Seton Hall University—acting in the absence of the treasurer, Monsignor Cartwright—and by the chairmen of the committee on nominations, the John Carroll Papers, the John Gilmary Shea Prize, and the secretary of the Association. The texts of these reports are contained in this issue of the REVIEW. In behalf of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize, the chairman, Michael B. McCloskey, O.F.M., of Siena College, stated that he and his colleagues had wished to award the prize to Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., for his book, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953). However, the secretary of the Association had reminded the committee that the Barry work had been done originally as a dissertation for the Ph.D. degree at the Catholic University of America and that in previous years two other doctoral dissertations from the same University, written by Henry J. Browne and Annabelle M. Melville, had been selected by the committee but not awarded due to the fear that misunderstanding might arise among the membership if awards were made to the works of the secretary's own graduate students. A similar motive, it was stated, had prompted Father Ellis to decline the prize in 1952 for his own biography of Cardinal Gib-

bons. Father McCloskey stated that his committee wished to make known its view that in the future no ban of this kind should be imposed upon the selection of works for the Shea Prize, and that the competition should be opened to all books of superior quality whether they had been done originally as doctoral dissertations and, too, regardless of the university of origin. At this point Father Ellis explained his motive for the action taken in regard to the works of Mrs. Melville and Fathers Browne and Barry, and then asked for opinions from the members present. As a consequence a discussion followed in which Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., Peter Leo Johnson, Tibor Kerekes, and Paul Kiniery joined. All were agreed that doctoral dissertations as such should not be eliminated from the competition, and it was the suggestion of Professor Kerekes that the secretary inform the heads of the departments of history in all the Catholic graduate schools which grant the doctorate concerning the rules governing the prize. In this way, it was thought, no exception could be taken if the award in some future year went to a product of one of the seven Catholic universities that have a program leading to the doctorate in history. In the light of the discussion Father McCloskey framed a motion to embody the principal points agreed upon, it was seconded by George C. A. Boehrer of Marquette University, and passed unanimously.

On Monday afternoon John J. Meng of Hunter College acted as chairman for the general session on the subject "Democracy in American Catholic Thought of the Nineteenth Century," at which the two papers were read by Aaron I. Abell of the University of Notre Dame on "Brownson's American Republic: The Political Testament of a Reluctant Democrat," and by Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P., archivist of the Paulist Fathers, on "The Church and the Age." The discussion was led by Francis E. McMahon of the Sheil Institute and James Edward Roohan of Yale University. Tuesday morning, December 29, the joint session of our Association with the American Historical Association was held before a large audience in the North Ballroom on the general subject of "The Problem of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at the End of the Middle Ages." In the absence of the chairman, Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard University, the meeting was presided over by John U. Neff of the University of Chicago. The two papers were read by Ernst H. Kantorowicz of the Institute of Advanced Study who spoke on "The Beginnings of the *Mystique de l'Etat* at the End of the Middle Ages," and John A. Kemp, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago, whose paper was entitled, "The Problem of Papal Power under Innocent IV." Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin led the discussion and was followed by Gerhardt Ladner of Fordham University who was substituting for Stephan G.

Kuttner of the Catholic University of America who was not able to be present.

On Tuesday afternoon the Association held another session on the subject "History as an Integrating Discipline" with Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University in the chair. The titles and authors of the three papers were as follows: "The Function of History: The Tradition of Western Scholarship" by Sister Albertus Magnus, O.P., of Rosary College, "The Teacher" by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., of Xavier University, Cincinnati, and "The Art Historian" by Otto G. von Simson of the University of Chicago. Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., of Marquette University was the leader of the discussion which followed. The final session of the three-day meeting was the presidential luncheon at which President John T. Farrell delivered his address, "An Abandoned Approach to Philippine History: John R. M. Taylor and the Philippine Insurrection Records," which appeared in the January issue of the REVIEW. Following the presidential address the members had the pleasure of hearing from Cardinal Stritch, the Archbishop of Chicago, who had presided at the luncheon and who spoke informally on the special task of a Catholic historical association and the need for further solid and scholarly studies from Catholic historians. The chairman of the luncheon conference was Thomas P. Neill of Saint Louis University.

The thirty-fifth annual meeting will be held at the Hotel Commodore in New York on December 28-30, 1954. The reports of the officers and committees for 1953 follow.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Account I—General Fund

Investments	December 15, 1952		$ 5,858.44
Cash on hand	December 15, 1952	$ 5,231.05	

Receipts:

Annual dues	$ 6,397.50	
Income from investments	382.05	
Donations to annual meeting expenses	362.51	
Donations	3.50	
Life memberships	100.00	
Student membership fund	1,678.00	
Total	$14,154.61	$ 5,858.44

Disbursements:

Office expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 74.00		
Supplies and sundry	413.41		
Secretary's salary	1,449.68	$1,937.09	
Annual meeting expenses—1952		436.67	
Catholic Historical Review		3,674.00	
Exchange on checks		.25	
Baumgartner, Downing & Co.—Stock		997.50	7,045.51
Balance on hand, December 15, 1953			$ 7,109.10
Investments, December 15, 1953			$ 6,855.94

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS

Cash on hand—December 15, 1952		$ 2,033.04
Receipts:		
Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$33.00	
Stock, *Consular Relations*	35.50	68.50
Total receipts		$ 2,101.54

Disbursements:

None

Balance on hand, December 15, 1953	$ 2,101.54

* * * * *

CARROLL DOCUMENT FUND

Cash on hand	$ 722.67
Expenditures	485.28
Balance on hand, December 15, 1953	$ 237.39

SUMMARY

Investments—Account I		$ 6,855.94
Cash on hand:		
Account I	$ 7,109.10	
Account II	2,101.54	
Carroll Document Fund	237.39	
Total cash on hand	$ 9,448.03	

Memorandum on Carroll Document Fund

Cash on hand—December 15, 1952			$ 722.67
Expenditures:			
Recordak Corporation	$135.62		
	13.40	$149.02	
Catholic University of America		1.64	
Historical Society of Pennsylvania		4.62	
Copyists and typists:			
Martha Petraitis	102.00		
	73.00		
	70.00	245.00	
John Toland		26.00	
Erin Gibbons		59.00	485.28
Balance on hand, December 15, 1953			$ 237.39

Income from Investments

Interest			
Morris and Essex		$ 70.00	
New York Central and Hudson River RR.		70.00	$ 140.00
Dividends			
Bank of America		$148.80	
Montana Power		77.50	
Public Service Company of New Hampshire		15.75	242.05
			$ 382.05

Respectfully submitted,

John K. Cartwright, *Treasurer*

Report of the Committee on Nominations:

President: Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University

First Vice President: Aaron I. Abell, University of Notre Dame

Second Vice President: Francis Dvornik, Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

Executive Council (for three-year terms to replace Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., and Hugh J. Nolan):

John B. McGloin, S.J., University of San Francisco

Robert J. Welch, State University of Iowa

Committee on Nominations:
James A. Corbett, University of Notre Dame, *Chairman*
Mother Kathryn Sullivan, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
Fred R. Van Valkenburg, Regis College, Denver
Committee on Program:
Joseph G. Dwyer, Iona College, New Rochelle, *Chairman*
John A. Lukacs, Chestnut Hill and La Salle Colleges
Thaddeus V. Tuleja, St. Peter's College
Committee for the John Gilmary Shea Prize (for a three-year term):
Henry A. Callahan, S.J., Boston College

Committee on Nominations, 1953,
TIBOR KEREKES, Georgetown University, *Chairman*
ROBERT J. CORNELL, O.Praem, St. Norbert College
GABRIEL COSTELLO, F.S.C., Manhattan College

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JOHN CARROLL PAPERS:

The full committee on the John Carroll Papers, with the exception of the incumbent president, met briefly during the convention last year and discussed procedures for carrying out its task with its working members scattered in three different parts of the country. The year's work has consisted mainly in the completion of the collecting and preserving processes. We now have accessioned 704 items of Carroll's own composition. During the year, through the kindness of Francis X. Curran, S.J., copies of three letters were made in the archives of the Irish Province of the Jesuits. To Father Curran the committee is also grateful for his check on the archives of the Jesuit General in Rome; even though the search proved fruitless, it is reassuring to have had it done. Marygrove College, Detroit, graciously contributed a copy of one Carroll letter to the cause; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania supplied copies of five letters and nineteen additional items were received from the University of Notre Dame through the courtesy of Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C.

A letter of the committee's secretary published in *Manuscripts*, the official journal of the Manuscript Society, resulted in very interested reactions which, however, in the main suggested the existence of materials about John Carroll. The results of this appeal among professional collectors and curators were satisfying to the extent that our present knowledge of materials in two autograph collections, which we are now working on, seem to about complete the sweep of the depositories in the United States. With regard to Europe, contact is presently being established with a highly recommended research assistant in Rome in the hope of completely gleaning with a camera the Carroll material in the Propaganda archives.

The only other known items in Europe are a group of letters already in published form from the archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin. Consistency would seem to demand that we also get these in more scientific form. We have been promised a copy of a Carroll letter addressed to the King of Spain from the Madrid archives. Preliminary to any editorial work the making of typescripts of the over 700 items was undertaken. An excellent typist, who soon grew in proficiency in reading the peculiarities of Carroll's hand, did most of the actual copying and all of the checking which is nearing completion. In order to assure accuracy, and because of their relatively small number, the photoprints of the seventeen French documents were forwarded to Annabelle M. Melville and of the forty-nine Latin documents, to Charles H. Metzger, S.J., for the application of their orthographic as well as editorial skills. Next year we hope will be marked almost completely by emphasis on the actual editorial work which will be done by the committee members who are specialists in Carroll's life and times. Our contacts with the National Historical Publications Commission have continued to be cordial and helpful. The secretary checked sections of Catholic interest in a rough draft of one their reports and exchanged letters with its executive secretary, Dr. Philip M. Hamer, assuring him that it was our intention to include insofar as possible in our project the publication of important letters received by John Carroll. That is the general form of publication of papers which has been endorsed by the commission.

An unexpected but welcomed by-product of the work of the committee developed in the past year in the form of assistance to researchers. Two scholars, with permission of the proper authorities, turned to our negative film copies of the Baltimore archives for prints of portions of that material. We were in correspondence with two others and were able to help one of them with copied material. The little over $200 left in the committee's fund, it is hoped, will cover the last of the collecting and processing. The members are not being reimbursed, but there will be some constant expense which we hope the Executive Council will be able to bear.

I should like to close by expressing my gratitude to Father Ellis for his ever sound guidance, and to the other members of the committee for their ideas and patience, and over and above that, to Mrs. Melville for her checking of materials during several weeks of the last summer.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. BROWNE, *Secretary of the Committee*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY:

It will be thirty-four years on Wednesday of this week since Peter Guilday gathered about him in Cleveland a small group of about fifty

persons who formed the nucleus of this Association. Of the officers and members of the Executive Council chosen on that occasion to pilot the infant organization through its first year of life, only three are still living, viz., Father Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., who was one of the two vice presidents, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes who was the first secretary, and Father William Busch of the St. Paul Seminary who was named as a member of the Executive Council. In his address on that December 30, 1919, the later Monsignor Guilday stated that it was the hope of the founders that the American Catholic Historical Association would arouse among the Catholics of the United States what he called "an instinct of love and veneration" for the history of the Church. "This ideal," he continued, "any scholar or any group of scholars might well consider fitting for the work of a lifetime. . . ."[1] Anyone who has some acquaintance with the later careers of those pioneers of 1919 will agree, I think, that they pursued their ideal with admirable zeal and loyalty, and that we who are their successors owe to them a lasting debt of gratitude.

The founders who launched the Association in 1919 would be happy today if they knew the extent to which their initial efforts have spread, for the year that is now closing has witnessed the greatest single advance in membership since the Association was born. In only six of our thirty-four years has the number of new members passed the 100 mark and the highest heretofore was 1930 with 115. In 1953 the number has reached 174 new members. The pertinent figures are as follows:

Membership, December 15, 1952		902
Resignations	18	
Deaths	9	
Delinquents	43	70
		832
Renewals	5	
New members	174	179
Membership, December 15, 1953		1,011

For the first time since the Association was founded, therefore, we have passed 1,000 in our membership.

This notable increase during 1953 is due, we believe, to several factors. First, it does not seem too much to say that there is a growing interest in the history of the Church among American Catholics; secondly, more and more of our Catholic people have of recent years been receiving formal and scientific training for the teaching of history. Were we to show otherwise than an increase we should have serious reason to examine our

[1] Peter Guilday, "The American Catholic Historical Association," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (April, 1920), 13.

ST. MARY OF THE SPRINGS COLLEGE LIBRARY

conscience, for the present year for the first time witnessed the Catholic population of the United States pass the thirty million mark, and also saw recorded the highest personnel in the history of the American Church for college, seminary, and university faculties and student bodies. It would not seem unduly optimistic to say, therefore, that our improved position reflects the fact that as the Church in the United States expands in numbers and matures in its educational enterprises its faithful is growing more mindful of the obligation they have to support learned societies such as our own.

But our record membership of 1,011 is also due to a particular cause. Last June two of the able Benedictine historians of St. John's University, Collegeville, suggested to the secretary that a number of the bishops of the United States might, perhaps, be interested in helping students and young historians to take out membership by underwriting part of the cost of the annual dues of $7.00 which, we all admit, is a fairly high sum for students to raise. The secretary acted upon the suggestion and in response favorable replies were received from a number of the archbishops to whom the appeal was made. As a consequence of the generosity of these archbishops eighty-nine major seminarians, graduate students, and young instructors recently out of graduate schools were assisted to the extent of $4.00 each. These young men and women found it possible to pay the remaining $3.00 themselves, and we hope that by a year from now they may be in a position to continue the membership on their own. I am sure that I spoke in your name when I expressed to these archbishops our abiding gratitude for the very effective advance which their generosity gave to our work.

Speaking of the American hierarchy, the *Register* of Denver on December 13, 1953, carried a news story to the effect that there were at that date 198 bishops in the United States and its insular possessions, the largest number in American Catholic history. Of the total of 198 the Association is proud to count 106 as its members, including the four American cardinals, twenty-one archbishops, and eighty-one bishops. For the sanction of this active support from our highest ecclesiastical superiors we are all, needless to say, deeply grateful. While on the subject of groups within our membership, it may be of interest to you to know that we have at the present time 419 priests, 113 sisters, eleven brothers, 274 laymen and laywomen, and eighty-eight institutions.

Ever since I made my first annual report to you in December, 1941, I have followed the practice of listing the names of the Association's honored dead who have died during the previous year and asked a prayer for the repose of their souls. In 1953 the following members departed this life:

Most Reverend Joseph F. Busch
Mother M. Dafrose
Most Reverend Francis J. Haas
Most Reverend Emmanuel B. Ledvina
Mr. James P. McGovern
Mr. P. C. Reilly
Very Reverend Theodore Roemer, O.F.M.Cap.
Right Reverend William H. Russell
Reverend Joseph P. Ryan, M.M.

May their souls rest in peace!

The names and addresses of the 174 new members are as follows:

Sister Consuelo Maria Aherne, Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia 18, Pennsylvania

The Order of the Alhambra, c/o G. Alfred Peters, Jr., 536 Equitable Building, Baltimore 2, Maryland

Brother M. Alphonsus, F.S.C., 612 Academy Avenue, Providence 8, Rhode Island

Very Reverend Louis A. Arand, S.S., The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

Reverend Daniel G. Babis, 100-05 159th Avenue, Howard Beach, Long Island, New York

Reverend Bernard Bak, C.R., 3689 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis 8, Missouri

Captain Opal H. Baldree, Box 372, 3337th Training Squadron, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois

Mr. James J. Barrett, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

Reverend Anthony J. Bevilacqua, 2530 Church Avenue, Brooklyn 26, New York

Mr. Alphonse J. Birmingham, 401 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.

Mr. Joseph P. Boruta, 5638 West Eddy Street, Chicago 34, Illinois

Mr. Charles F. Bradley, 4105 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Brother Gerard Brassard, A.A., 670 West Boylston Street, Worcester 6, Massachusetts

Mr. James A. Brundage, 2150 University Avenue, New York 53, New York

Reverend Gerald P. Brennan, S.J., Marquette University, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin

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During the past year the number of institutions and individuals who subscribe to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW—apart from the members of the Association—came out to the same total as that of the 1952 figure, namely, 455. In the same time the number of exchanges increased by two to a total of 144. The addition of members, subscribers, and exchanges brings a grand total of 1,610, to whom our quarterly journal now goes out, an increase of 111 over the 1,499 reported in December, 1952. You have already heard the reports of the treasurer, Monsignor Cartwright, and of Father Browne, the secretary of the Committee on the John Carroll Papers, and in both instances you were, I am sure, gratified to learn that we have not only had another very successful year in our finances, but that we have been able to expend some of our funds for the constructive purpose of furthering the scholarly project inaugurated two years ago for editing the papers of the first American bishop.

Insofar as manuscripts sent in to the editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is concerned, the period from January 1, 1953, up to the present found twenty submitted, three less than during 1952. Of these nine were accepted, of which six are already in print or are to appear in the issue of January, 1954, and three await publication in a future issue. The other eleven manuscripts were rejected as not being suitable for publication in our journal.

The members are continuing to show a genuine interest in casting their ballots for the officers and committee personnel, and up to the time this report was written 232 ballots had been received at the executive office in contrast to a total of 199 ballots a year ago this time. It should be stated that the Committee on Nominations conscientiously tries each year to spread the offices and committees over as wide and representative a group of names as possible. The executive office received two suggestions as a result of the names submitted to the membership last month. One asked that the lay women among the membership be considered. The writer overlooked, perhaps, the fact that Miss Sheedy of the College of New Rochelle has been a member of the council for the past two years. The other suggestion was that in choosing names more attention should be given to those who are faithful in attendance at the annual meetings. Surely, no one will deny the importance of such a consideration, but it should be remarked that some of our most loyal and co-operative members rarely ever attend an annual meeting for reasons which are best known to themselves. The receipt of these communications is mentioned here, however, to indicate to all of you the willingness of the executive office to

hear any and all suggestions that will improve and strengthen our common task. The Association belongs to no one of us; it is the property of all of us combined. For that reason the members not only have a right, but one might even say a duty, to represent their opinions whenever they believe that they may be of benefit to the cause that holds us together.

The Secretary of the Association is naturally in a position to know at first hand the names of those who have earned the special gratitude of the membership by their assistance during any given year. Permit me, therefore, to thank in your name Mr. Edward Gargan of Loyola University, Chicago, and his colleagues, Paul S. Lietz of Loyola and John Kamerick of Lewis College, for the splendid program that they have arranged for us during the next three days. The Committee on Program carries a major burden of the Association's labors each year, and I believe you will agree that the painstaking efforts of Mr. Gargan and his committee are clearly reflected in the program mailed to you six weeks ago. Each year, too, certain names stand out for the assistance that they have rendered by way of recruiting new members, and during 1953 this was especially true of Father Peter J. Rahill of Saint Louis University, Professor A. Paul Levack of Fordham University, Monsignor Harry C. Koenig of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Father Ralph F. Bayard, C.M., of Kenrick Seminary, Monsignor Philip M. Hannan, chancellor of the Archdiocese of Washington, Professors Paul Kiniery and Paul S. Lietz of Loyola University, Chicago, and Mr. Gaetano Vincitorio of St. John's University, Brooklyn. Finally, we are likewise indebted to the members of the three standing committees of the Association, namely, those on nominations, the John Gilmary Shea Prize, and the John Carroll Papers for the conscientious efforts they have expended during the past months in carrying on these special aspects of the Association's work.

Each year I find myself closing my annual report with a slightly uneasy feeling that I may have inadvertently overlooked someone to whom the Association is indebted in a particular way for support and assistance in one form or another. If that should be the case this year I sincerely trust that the individual or individuals will forgive me and that they will be assured of the gratitude we all entertain for the part that they have played in making 1953 one of the most successful years in the history of our society. May the new year of each and every one of our members, whether present here today or not, be filled with God's choicest blessings, and may we be able to report equally good news to you a year hence when we assemble in New York for the thirty-fifth time to hold the annual meeting of 1954.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

A History of Christianity. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1953. Pp. xxvii, 1516. $9.50.)

Between 1937 and 1947 Professor Latourette published seven volumes, totalling 3,500 pages, on the expansion of Christianity. Now he has produced this 1500-page history of Christianity. The author foresees, but rejects, the judgment that this work is a mere condensation of the seven volumes. Rather, he has endeavored to give a "well-rounded summary of the entire history of Christianity in all its phases and in its setting in the human scene." An ambitious program, certainly, and one which might be thought predestined to failure. But Dr. Latourette had undertaken ambitious projects before and conducted them to successful conclusion. A bachelor with an enormous capacity for work, he has devoted three decades to the study of church history. As a result he is master of enormous erudition and at the same time clear, accurate, and reliable. His present volume is a successful achievement. While in many cases it was impossible for the learned author to delve deeply into the original sources, or even to control adequately the principal monographs, his history generally avoids superficiality and inaccuracy.

In judging this work, however, a Catholic has to face certain facts. Dr. Latourette is a Protestant of the "non-liturgical type and in the stream of what is usually called Evangelicalism." He tells us, too, that he has been trained in "the school of modern history which looks askance at the supernatural and sees in the flow of events simply mechanical and human factors." His larger work was written from that viewpoint. The present work is professedly that of a believer. The account of the origins of Christianity, e.g., is frankly "based on acceptance of the Gospel records as inspired and conveying accurate information."

The Catholic reader will probably not find anything anti-Catholic in this huge work, or, if he does, he may be sure that it was not written in a bigoted spirit. Dr. Latourette's judgment of a certain Catholic history, "Attempting, not unsuccessfully, to be objective," could if taken with the proper nuance of meaning, be applied to his own book. The tendencies of the author are unmistakably Protestant, but they have been controlled by voluminous reading and, in general, by careful weighing of the evidence. For this reason the history will be of service to Catholic scholars. Here is a well-informed outline of the history of Christianity by an eminent specialist who has no Catholic presuppositions and yet endeavors to ren-

der account of all the Christian past without any special pleading. The author also wants to be all-embracing. "If it is not to be distorted, the history of Christianity must include all the varieties of the faith, even those offshoots which have disappeared." This does not mean, of course, that he has not used an author's privilege of being selective in the space allotted to the various forms of Christianity.

Professor Latourette's history is documented as works of its kind usually are: a bibliography is attached to each chapter. The author, who warns that he makes no effort at being complete or exhaustive, usually adds a brief appraisal of the titles cited. He desires to guide readers who want further information. The choice of books on periods of special Catholic interest is never one which will appeal to informed Catholics. All things considered, however, Dr. Latourette's latest volume is a notable production. With a genius for collecting and collating facts and with a kindly outlook on life, a distinguished historian has given a largely factual history of Christianity.

EDWARD A. RYAN

Woodstock College

Geschichte der alten Kirche. By Hans Lietzmann. Band 1: *Die Anfänge;* Band 2: *Ecclesia catholica;* Band 3: *Die Reichskirche;* Band 4: *Die Zeit der Kirchenväter.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co. 1953. Pp. vii, 326; viii, 339; viii, 346; iv, 200. DM 44.)

This is the second edition for all volumes except the first (third edition) of the monumental history of the ancient Church by the last great representative of the school of Adolf von Harnack. In a postscript to Volume IV, we read that the last lines of the manuscript were written on July 15, 1942, a few days before the author's last illness. The executor adds that it had been Lietzmann's intention to add two more chapters, one on Christian art and another on the culture of the fourth century. As it stands, this work is a truly significant performance.

Lietzmann, the general editor of *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Uebungen* which have helped the scientific labors of two generations of scholars of all religious persuasions, here sets forth the findings of a most industrious life. As is well known, he was also editor of the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* and the author of the *Handbuch zum neuen Testament.* In short, his interests embraced the whole Christian past from its origins to the end of the fourth century—at least. The present work then in its second and third editions represents the mature and definitive thought of Hans Lietzmann alone, for the literary executor,

Dr. Walter Eltester, is at pains to declare that neither he nor the other editors, Sabina Lietzmann and Kurt Aland, added anything to the manuscript except insignificant alterations of slips of the pen.

On the positive side, two qualities immediately manifest themselves, clearness and compactness of expression accompanied by a scrupulous citation of the relevant primary sources. The awareness of the *ipsissima verba* of the witnesses is the special reason why all scholars, irrespective of their religious positions, will have to consult this work at every turn. No one knew better than Lietzmann the best editions of every ancient source, no one could match the familiarity with critical texts of the editor of so many primary sources.

And yet this same work is subject to the gravest reservations in its interpretation of this same rich, unsurpassed documentation. Twenty years ago, Père Jules Lebreton, S.J., pointed out the main objections in his review of Volume I, then appearing for the first time. Writing in *Recherches de science religieuse* [XXII (juin, 1933), 355 ff.], and again in *Études* [tome 231 (avril-mai-juin, 1937), 270-271] the distinguished historian of the dogma of the Trinity in sober, factual language found that Lietzmann, without going to the extremes of Loisy on the thought and the writings of St. Paul, or on the authenticity of the epistles of St. Ignatius, did present views that shake the very foundations of Christianity. The divinity of Christ, His virginal conception, the redemption by His death, and His resurrection become illusory if, as Lietzmann states, "die Entscheidung über das wahre Wesen des als Jesu Auferstehung bezeichneten Ereignisses, dessen *weltgeschichtliche* (italics ours) Tragweite gar nicht auszumessen ist, fällt *nicht im Bereich historischer Tatsachenforschung* (italics ours), sondern da, wo die Seele des Menschen sich mit dem Ewigen berührt" (I, 53, 3rd ed.). In other words, rationalistic prejudices *a priori* exclude miracles and the miraculous in "historical" investigations. The closest Lietzmann comes to "admitting" anything "miraculous" seems to be in the splendidly written account of the spread of the Church and its presumable effect on the heathen. Obviously deeply impressed himself, Lietzmann opines that a dreamer at times, very, very seldom ("ganz, ganz selten") is a genius. On such occasions the community that comes under the genius' spell is the bearer of a world-overpowering force. In such cases, also, "historical analogies cease and the historian must look beyond the plane of normal occurrence into the abyss from which spring the forces that cannot be grasped historically. Then only faith may justly speak of miracles." ("Der Glaube redet dann mit Recht vom Wunder," II, 43). But by such procedures, what becomes of both faith and history—to quote Lebreton? And so the solvent of rationalism continues to operate in this first volume: the Sanhedrin (p. 50) *did* have the power to put to death for blasphemy but chose instead

to execute Jesus by surrendering Him to the Roman authorities as a disturber of the peace (on this subject Lietzmann has written a whole monograph in the *Sitzungsber.Akad.Berlin* [1931], 313-322, and in *Zeitschr. f.neutestam.W.* [1931 and 1932]; the account of the death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord in the traditional accounts is overladen with visions, hallucinations, and the "miraculous," all of which apologetics have exploited and schematized (pp. 52 and 53); St. Paul's real enemies were Jesus and Peter (pp. 108-109) whom one can detect behind "den Satansdienern und Lügenaposteln und falschen Brüdern"; St. Paul speaks to his contemporaries in the language of any oriental religion, but his successors "as the history of dogma teaches us" have distorted his message (p. 126); he never intended the crass concept of the Eucharist of his Corinthian flock (pp. 122-123). Thus one could go on in all too numerous passages with the *cauda serpentina* betraying itself. And, of course, the Gospel according to St. John is a much later compilation!

In the other volumes, the rationalistic thesis does not obtrude itself so flagrantly. But the few times modern opinion is invoked it cannot escape the observant reader that the dissident is given the benefit of the doubt, against the "Reichskirche." Take the case of Priscillian: the interpretation (cf. IV, 60 ff.) of the documentation available is that of O. Seeck or Babut, although the former has been corrected by E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches,* and Babut's thesis has been handled in expert fashion by A. d'Alès, S.J., in *Recherches de science religieuse* [XXIII (1933), 129 ff.].

Such a book in the hands of the immature is definitely a peril. Scholars, however, cannot help but profit by the vast erudition, clarity of exposition, and especially by the full documentation displayed in the last work of Hans Lietzmann.

JOSEPH M.-F. MARIQUE

Boston College

The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Edited and translated by Bruno Scott James. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1953. Pp. xx, 530. $10.00.)

Many years ago the reviewer heard the late Dana Carlton Munro lecture on St. Bernard. The American mediaevalist remarked that Bernard's writings had been translated into various languages and had gone through some hundreds of editions since the invention of printing. He also was privileged to hear the late G. G. Coulton (not always disposed favorably toward mediaeval monasticism) expatiate on the ability, charm, and saintliness of St. Bernard. Clearly there is no disagreement as to the significance of the great twelfth-century Cistercian. Indeed, he was one of those

rare figures who not only profoundly influenced his contemporaries, but left to posterity a remarkably full record in his treatises, sermons, hymns, and letters.

The letters have a particular importance in that they reveal St. Bernard as the familiar and often startlingly outspoken correspondent of popes, bishops, and abbots, emperors, kings, and queens, not to mention many humbler persons. Here are all the great causes: the papal schism which he did so much to heal, the lesser disputes over episcopal election, the controversy with Abelard, the crusade, Arnold of Brescia, and many others. There is a remarkably frank letter to Abbot Suger, "minister" to King Louis of France. Apparently St. Bernard was influential in a reform inaugurated by Suger at St. Denis. There is a letter to St. Ailred of Rievaulx which hitherto has appeared as an introduction to the latter's *Speculum charitatis* and under another authorship. The editor has followed Wilmart and Knowles in attributing this to St. Bernard. There is, too, a heartwarming exchange with Peter the Venerable of Cluny, a man of different temperament, yet one who respected and was respected by St. Bernard. These are only samples of the 469 letters included. And the reader will soon discover that St. Bernard corresponded not only with the great, but with many of less exalted station who sought his advice.

Father James has acknowledged his debt to earlier students of St. Bernard, and one happy result has been the inclusion of certain letters hitherto unavailable to most readers. There is, e.g., a remarkable letter, previously unpublished, to the English people exhorting them to support the crusade. Further, since there has been no reasonably complete translation of the letters since that of the Reverend Samuel Eales in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the present work is timely. It also appropriately marks the eighth centenary of St. Bernard's death.

The translator has deviated somewhat from the traditional order of St. Bernard's letters in order to attain a rough chronological sequence of the main subjects. An index gives both his own and the traditional numbering. Two other highly useful indices supply (1) the names of recipients and (2) the principal subjects. The translator has also attempted to discover "how St. Bernard would say this or that were he living now." And while he admits that this is sometimes impossible, so different was "the mentality of the age of St. Bernard," he has, nevertheless, achieved a remarkable balance between scholarly archaism and an inappropriate modernity. The reviewer found the result entirely convincing. For obscure passages or those where any translation would impair the original meaning the Latin is supplied in a note. Monsignor Knox's translation has been used for most scriptural quotations.

In addition to a brief introduction giving the main features of St. Bernard's life, pertinent explanations, identifications, etc., have been interspersed among the letters. Because it is a translation the work is not primarily intended for the scholar, rather for the general student of St. Bernard and his time. A number of Father James' comments will, nevertheless, interest the more erudite. Moreover, the work as presented is clearly that of a scholar, one who knows as well as loves his subject.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

New York University

Newman. Sa vie, sa spiritualité By Louis Bouyer de l'Oratoire. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1952. Pp. 485. 975 fr.)

Since Paul Thureau-Dangin's three-volume work, *La Renaissance catholique en Angleterre au XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1899-1906) and *Newman catholique d'après des documents nouveaux* (Paris, 1912), there has been no French biography of Newman. Henry Bremond's *Newman. Essai de biographie psychologique* (Paris, 1903), was not a biography, but a series of sketches analyzing Newman's emotional, intellectual, and inner life, his style as a writer and preacher, and his religious philosophy. In 1952 there appeared *Le Cardinal Newman. Une vie et une époque* by J. A. Lutz of the Diocese of Strasbourg, translated from the German by René Guillaume (Tournai, Casterman, 352 pp.). The publication of another biography at a short interval gives evidence of the growing interest of the French reading public in the great English cardinal.

The author of the book under review is himself a convert and a member of the Congregation of the Oratory, who was recently introduced to the American public with a translation of his *Mystère Pascal* (Paris, 1947), published by Regnery in 1950. Father Bouyer teaches theology at the Catholic Institute in Paris, and in 1952 he lectured at the University of Notre Dame. He prepared for his work on Newman at the Oratory of Birmingham where Father Henry Tristram, to whom he dedicates his volume, directed his researches. It is only from the footnotes and from occasional remarks in the text that we can get an idea of the main sources that the author used. For the Anglican period he employed Newman's own *Apologia,* the *Autobiographical Memoir* which Anne Mozley used as a frame for the two volumes of *Letters and Correspondence* which she published in 1890, and the recent *Young Mr. Newman* by Maisie Ward (New York, 1948). The present reviewer had originally thought Father Bouyer too severe in his accusation that Anne Mozley had tampered with Newman's texts, but his charge was explicitly confirmed by Father Tristram in the latter's review of the book in the *Dublin Review* [No. 458 (1952), p. 68]. For Newman's Catholic period the author follows Wilfrid

Ward's monumental *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912). But to the private *Journal,* started by Newman in 1859 and quoted by Ward, Father Bouyer adds unpublished documents which will awake the curiosity of English and American readers. One on which he comments at great length (pp. 344-353) consists of a series of Latin retreat notes written by Newman (April 8-17, 1847), when he was preparing for holy orders; the others bear on his life in the Oratory and give us an insight into his spirituality. Owing, perhaps, to the fact that he himself is a convert, the author devotes the larger part of his biography (pp. 10-309) to Newman's life as an Anglican and to his conversion. The story of Newman's Catholic life seems very sketchy by comparison (pp. 311-485).

The portrait of Newman herein is drawn by a very able and very loving pen. From beginning to end the reader's interest is caught in this moving drama of a soul searching for truth, of a gifted leader thwarted in his efforts to revivify the Church of his birth, and likewise hampered in his attempts to bring to the Church of his choice the benefits of his broad scholarship and of his deep understanding of the trends of modern thought in theology, education, and politics. And all through that long and active life the reader is introduced to the secrets of a religious soul in search of holiness and burning with an apostolic zeal to lead other souls to holiness. The author brings out clearly that aspect of Newman's life in his story of Newman's first conversion, in his interpretation of the *Parochial and Plain Sermons,* of his life at Littlemore, of the spirit he sought to develop in his congregation, and of his journal and correspondence. Every devotee of Newman will enjoy these features of the new biography.

It is because of our appreciation of this portrait of Newman that we all the more regret the errors and the faults which, in our estimation, mar the work. We refer to the one-sided account Father Bouyer gives of some controversial issues like the difficulties Newman encountered in the founding of the Catholic University of Ireland, in the project of an English translation of the Bible, the opposition he met in the establishment of a house at Oxford, the suspicions he incurred when he co-operated with the liberal-minded reviews, *The Rambler* and *The Home and Foreign Review,* when he seemed to give only a weak support to Pius IX at the time when the temporal power of the Papacy was threatened. (By the way, the author passes over the controversies regarding the definition of papal infallibility by the Vatican Council.) We refer also to his harsh characterization of most of the contemporaries of his hero. The French reader who has no way of checking the author's judgments will form a strange idea of the Catholic world into which Newman's lot was cast after his conversion, e.g., the Roman schools and the Roman Curia with Monsignor George Talbot, the old English Catholics and the new English hierarchy, Wiseman, Ullathorne, and Manning, the Irish people and

hierarchy, Newman's fellow converts like W. G. Ward, and his fellow Oratorians, Faber and Dalgairns, even the American episcopate. No attempt is here made at showing the other side; Newman is pictured as a misunderstood genius and a saint who was a victim of stupid persecutions.

By way of illustration, we may quote the passage in which he presents the American reaction to *The Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.*

> He [Newman] had not had time to contact the masters in Roman theology when the most disconcerting news arrived from America. There some Unitarian polemists (that sect which rejects the Trinity), had taken advantage of the pages in which Newman showed that a development of dogmatic formulas is as incontestable regarding this dogma as it is in matters which are the basis of the Protestant attacks against the Catholic Church, as, for instance, the cult of the Virgin. Whence they drew the conclusion that Newman "confessed" the non-primitive character of the doctrine of the Trinity. But that was not the most extravagant fact. Without taking any more trouble to understand the book, and, it seems, without having bothered to read it, the American Ecclesiastical Authorities had reacted with an impassioned denunciation of the Essay and of its author (pp. 334-335).

What are the facts?

The author is content with following the version of the incident given by Ward's biography: "Echoes reached Rome, within a fortnight of his arrival, of ignorant clamor in America of a kind which it is hopeless to deal with" (I, 160-161), a version which was supported by a letter of Newman to Dalgairns under the date of November 15, 1846, in which he said: "Knox writes me that the whole American Church, all the Bishops, I think, are up against my book. They say it is half Catholicism, half infidelity. Of course they know nothing of antiquity or of the state of the case. . . ."

We find an apparent confirmation, but also a correction, of that impression in *Orestes Brownson's Middle Life: from 1845 to 1855* by Henry F. Brownson (Detroit, 1899):

> A copy of this book [the *Essay*] fell into Brownson's hands, and the theory and its details were carefully and minutely studied. The conclusion of such study was the conviction that the theory was false and inconsistent with Christianity. This result of his examination he made known to Bishop Fitzpatrick [Coadjutor of Bishop Fenwick of Boston], who, after sufficient reflexion requested Brownson to refute the "Essay." Several other bishops also told him to do so; and every Catholic Bishop, priest, and layman in the country, so far as Brownson could ascertain, rejected Newman's theory of development, although some may have held to development in another sense than Newman's with a view to maintaining the definability of the Immaculate Conception, which they saw not how to do without conceding development. The first to write against

Newman's theory in this country was Bishop Purcell [of Cincinnati] who condemned it in "The Cincinnati Telegraph" (pp. 34-35).

We see then that the *Essay* was available to American readers, and that they were not all of the same mind as Brownson regarding it. An edition of Newman's work by D. Appleton & Company of New York was reviewed with sympathy in the May issue of the *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review,* which was "the official organ of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore," and was edited at the time by the Reverend Charles I. White and the Very Reverend Martin J. Spalding. A lengthy article (pp. 237-252) described "The Tractarian Movement," and referred to Newman's *Essay* in the following terms:

> The masterwork before the reader from his pen is but a foretaste of what may be hereafter expected. All know with what solicitude the "Essay" was expected, and with how much more avidity the volume has been received. We may judge somewhat of the sensation it has caused, by the tone of the public journal and private circle. It has been since its appearance the topic of every tongue, and almost every pen.

Brownson's first article against Newman's theory appeared in his *Quarterly Review* for July, 1846 (pp. 342-368). This is not the place to evaluate Brownson's criticism; we wish to note only the fact that it was the result of careful and minute study. The *United States Catholic Magazine* of September, 1846 (pp. 500-504), presented a defense of Newman in an unsigned letter from a New York correspondent. That the writer of this letter was not alone in his appreciation of the *Essay* was revealed by the answer given to Brownson in October, 1846, by Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh (quoted in *Brownson's Middle Life,* pp. 38-41). Brownson had complained to him that "as one of the responsible endorsers of the Baltimore Review, he was giving the weight of his episcopal sanction to what should be regarded as dangerous errors." To which the Bishop of Pittsburgh replied:

> I had given but a hasty glance at Newman's Essay. I did not give it anything like a perusal that would warrant me in giving an opinion of the doctrine he really undertakes to establish. I thought that in some passages he appeared to teach a theory of development such as you very justly condemn and very ably refute, while in other passages I thought he seemed to afford a clue for interpreting his meaning in a better sense.

That was, indeed, a very cautious statement. But added to the foregoing brief résumé of the main facts of the controversy, it showed that the American bishops and critics of Newman were not so hasty in their pronouncements and so ignorant of the issues as Newman imagined upon the first report that reached him from the United States, and as Wilfrid Ward and his French follower rather contemptuously suggest.

Father Bouyer intimates (p. 9) that his own volume is merely a sketch of the final biography of Newman by Henry Tristram. May we express the hope that in bringing out the eminent gifts, the genius, and the holiness of the great cardinal Father Tristram will not fail to do justice to those who may have differed with Newman and even, perhaps, hampered him, but who, nevertheless, have left their mark on the Church not only of England but of the whole Catholic world.

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Pie X. Essai historique. By Pierre Fernessole. Volume II. *Du Vatican à la gloire du Bernin.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1953. Pp. 539. 550 frs.)

In this second volume of his biography of Pius X Father Fernessole covers the reign and posthumous glorification of the pope down to his beatification in 1950. In pursuance of his researches this author had an unusual privilege: he was allowed access to the *Acta* of the process of that beatification. Anxious to do justice to a great story, and to meet the legitimate criticisms that have been levelled at the policy of his hero, he considers in detail the outstanding events of the reign and the opposition encountered by the pope within and without the Church. The purely religious policy of Pius X would have attracted very little attention outside the Church if it had not been for the modernist crisis, and the modernist crisis would have attracted less attention outside the Church than it did if it had not been used as a handy tool by the enemies of the pope's political policy.

As Father Fernessole points out, and as was widely recognized by August, 1914, the pontificate of Pius X was one of the most fruitful in the history of the Church. Both in number and importance the problems he dealt with and the changes he made mark it as the most significant since the Council of Trent. The Code of Canon Law, the laws on frequent and early Communion, the revisions of the Vulgate and the breviary, the reform and revival of church music, the Biblical Institute, and his drastic reform of the Roman Curia were all of lasting value. At the time none of these aroused as much interest as the modernist crisis and the conflict with the French government. Remote as they seem now, these two were the burning issues of their day. They explain the unfavorable portrait of Pius X that was so widely accepted outside the Church and still affects his reputation in some circles even within the Church. The author gives them special attention in an effort to dissipate the prejudices they created, and to let us see Pius X as his contemporaries saw him.

From the very beginning of his reign Pius X turned his attention to a variety of problems with an energy, firmness, and sureness of touch that astounded the curia, to which the new pope was an unknown quantity. There was much to do, for Leo XIII, like Pius IX, had lived too long and, owing to his great age, had been unable to deal adequately with many problems. It is quite probable, e.g., that if modernism had been diagnosed and dealt with sooner it would have been unnecessary for Pius X to be so severe. The author pays tribute to the doctrinal guidance given so often by Leo XIII, but it is clear that doctrinal guidance was not enough. The new pope felt that modernist infiltration had gone so far that only the most strenuous efforts could eradicate it. He did not shrink from the task, and his success was so complete that modernism is not only extinct but very largely forgotten. This result was achieved at a high price. Father Fernessole is at pains to show that the pope himself was always just and charitable in dealing with the individuals, guilty or innocent, who were crushed in the anti-modernist drive. The same cannot be said for some of his over-zealous subordinates who were effectively curbed only by Benedict XV. An echo of those stormy times can be found in the *Humani generis* of Pius XII in which the present pope, who lived in the Vatican all during the modernist crisis, states that he was acting early in order to avoid having to take more stringent measures later.

To the non-Catholic world and to many French Catholics the outstanding event of the pontificate was the conflict with the French government that resulted in the rupture of the concordat, the confiscation of church property in France, the expulsion of the remaining teaching congregations, and the ending of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and France. The Church in France regained her liberty, although she would have been glad to avoid receiving it on such terms. The policy of Pius X was accepted loyally by the French Catholics, but many felt, and some still feel, that a less drastic solution was possible and that a more diplomatic or prudent pope would have found it. The author feels that, given the bad faith of the government, there was no real alternative to the policy of Pius X. In his sermon on the occasion of the beatification of Pius X, the present pope, whose diplomatic gifts far surpass those of the new *beatus*, posed the question of strength having outrun prudence in his holy predecessor, and emphatically denied it. At the same time he paid tribute to the much maligned Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, who was so often the target for those who hesitated to attack Pius X directly.

Though Pius X was more bitterly criticized in the secular press than any pope since Pius IX has been, his popularity with ordinary people and with all who had personal contact with him was always very great. They recognized the sanctity on which the Church is so soon to set her seal. Father Fernessole describes in great detail the development of the

cause of Pius X and both the evidence of sanctity it produced and the profound respect and devotion it revealed and evoked. Far more than the Curé of Ars, Pius was the embodiment of the good pastor. He was also a very great pope, the benefits of whose life and reign will be felt for generations to come.

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The Case of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac. By Richard Pattee. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1953. Pp. xvi, 499. $5.50.)

In this his most recent work, Richard Pattee offers an extremely well documented defense of the now internationally known figure of religious persecution, the Archbishop of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, Aloysius Stepinac. According to the author's expressed intention he prepared this 499-page work, 345 pages of which are reproductions of authentic documents, to clarify the position of Cardinal Stepinac, and to expose the anti-Catholic purposes of the present Tito regime.

The narrative portion of the work highlights the confusion—political, religious, social, and economic which played such an important role in the cardinal's case. Especially for American readers, Pattee attempts, in his brief but readable introduction to the valuable documents he has collected, to provide sufficient background for a fuller understanding of the present Yugoslavian problem. Besides the age-old task of reconciling two major cultures, that of the West and that of the East, the Balkan state, Pattee writes, must co-ordinate the religious differences of the predominantly Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats, and satisfy the national aspirations of the various Slavic groups included within its limits. The separatist convictions of Cardinal Stepinac's Croat people provided one of the most important points of difference in his trial before the people's court of the centralist Serbian dominated Yugoslavian administration.

The seventy-two documents presented according to the various accusations levelled against the cardinal, and consisting of pastoral letters of the Yugoslavian hierarchy, letters by the cardinal, circular letters of the clergy, sermons by the cardinal, and official archiepiscopal memoranda, offer convincing proof of the indicted prelate's disinterested motives for acting. Though sympathizing with the national sentiments of his people, Cardinal Stepinac's activity was always influenced by his office as religious leader, e.g., his circumspect relations with the Nazi-Fascist inspired Ustasha regime in Croatia, his condemnation of the anti-Semitic program of that group, and his outspoken opposition to the policy of forced con-

versions. The author also presents documentary evidence in favor of the conviction that Cardinal Stepinac's trial was pre-judged and that the Tito regime in practice, if not officially, is anti-religious in accordance with the communist line.

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GENERAL HISTORY

Herodotus: Father of History. By John L. Myres. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. vi, 315. $6.00.)

Everyone who has worked in the period dealt with by Herodotus has consulted, from time to time, the *Commentary* of How and Wells. This work has been extremely useful as a kind of factual compendium that saved the time of the scholar. The present work by Myres is all of this and much more. In fact, on reading Myres it is clear that little work of importance has been done on Herodotus during the past generation, although a great deal of material bearing on his work has been made available.

It is unseemly, in a review in a scholar's journal, to heap fulsome praise or exhibit strong enthusiasm. All who know this grand old man of English classical scholarship may take this book in hand without fear of disappointment. Great scholars have been known to dash off brilliant, but light, essays. A competent scholar once remarked of a work by J. B. Bury that it was the sort of thing he dashed off on the boat coming over. This work on Herodotus is no such effort. It is solid, full of hard work, and the study of a rich lifetime. The so-called "rehabilitation" of Herodotus as an historian occurred some time ago for those familiar with the field. Myres' work, however, may well date this event for the general student of history and historiography.

The structure and content of this book are revealing—The Man: his life and travels; Herodotus and His Critics; The World of Herodotus; The Father of History; The Structure of the Histories with a tabular analysis. Section VI contains the historical notes. It is in this section that you have the *Commentary* brought up to date and immensely enriched with the thought and historical analysis of a fine scholar.

The theme of this book, if one may call it such, is that Herodotus had not set before him as his aim a mere catalogue of events or a compendium of facts concerning this great struggle of East and West. His aim was to determine, if possible, *why* they fought each other, and he finds his answer in their different customs, institutions, and ways of life. A struggle

for power between two Greek states was one thing—a world war between East and West was another. The historical work of Thucydides, like attic drama itself, is generated and focused in the tense and close environment of the city state. Not so with the theme chosen by Herodotus. As Myres points out several times, many of the jibes of Thucydides may not have been directed at Herodotus and, when the two historians treat the same events, Herodotus is as often correct as is Thucydides. Myres also points out that Plutarch's essay, "On the Malignity of Herodotus," is an attack upon his character rather than upon his skill.

In the last analysis, as Myres contends, we have in Herodotus and Thucydides two first-rate historians whose works complement each other and fit together, chronologically, surprisingly well. There are twenty-five illustrations, mostly maps, and an adequate index, as well as a table of text-references to Herodotus.

THOMAS A. BRADY

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Gegrip en Probleem van de Renaissance. Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van hun Ontstaan en tot hun Kunst historische Omschrijving. By Herman Baeyens. [Universiteit te Leuven. Publicaties op het Gebied der Geschiedenis en der Philologie. 3e Reeks, 48e Deel.] (Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotkeek. 1952. Pp. viii, 489. 450 frs. belge.)

What is the Renaissance? To answer this question adequately is a capital problem, yet a necessary one, for it involves an interpretation not only of the history of the whole of European civilization (and especially that of the Middle Ages), but also of the relations of the ancient, mediaeval, and modern periods with each other. In this long study Dr. Baeyens reviews the historiographic development of the complex problem, from the days of Giorgio Vasari and the humanists through the romantic era. His attention is focused mainly upon the application of the concept of the Renaissance to the development of art (that is, to painting, sculpture, architecture, and music).

After tracing the historical development of the problem through Burckhardt, Michelet, and their *epigoni,* and taking into consideration the work of the critics of these writers, Dr. Baeyens comes to the conclusion that the idea that there was such a period as the "Renaissance" is justified. This period he would place between the passing of the "Gothic" and the rise of the "Baroque" styles. He believes that the notion of a cataclysmic break with the Middle Ages, and of a sudden return to the cultural standards of classical antiquity, must be drastically revised. He correctly states there was considerable continuity of mediaeval culture during the *Trecento*

and the *Quattrocento* (as we note in law, medicine, science, technology, economics, government, and art, and especially in painting, sculpture, architecture, and music—subjects in which the author is especially interested). But to him the Renaissance marks something new—an idealizing tactility in painting, a humanistic realism in sculpture, a classical (and late Roman basilica, even Romanesque) influence in architecture, and the polyphonic virtuosity of Palestrina. During this period Italian tastes, techniques, and artistic creations became the norm of expression in other countries of Europe. This period of the "Renaissance," insofar as it concerns stylistic norms in these branches of art, constitutes for the author the link connecting the Middle Ages and the modern period which followed.

Dr. Baeyens deserves our thanks, for his study helps us to fill out our view of late mediaeval culture. Such is the diversity and complexity of this late mediaeval and earliest modern culture, which came to a certain maturity after a millennium of growth without violent catastrophic overturn, that a handy formula embracing every aspect of it seems impossible, and so the author has wisely limited his observations to the arts. His painstaking study is provided with a vast bibliography, many titles of which, especially in Dutch and Flemish, escape our search. This book will become an indispensable guide for all students of this difficult problem.

HENRY S. LUCAS

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La diplomatie. By Léon van der Essen. (Bruxelles: Les presses de la diffusion du livre S. A. 1953. Pp. 205.)

Professor van der Essen of the University of Louvain, whose many works on the Low Countries are well known, in this commendable volume analyzes the origins and organizational development of diplomatic practices and techniques to the end of the old regime. It is not the author's intent to write "diplomatic history," but, rather, to study the "institution" itself. As a consequence, he treats of such things as the definitions of diplomacy, the slow development of forms and usages, the establishment and evolution of permanent, modern agencies and operations, secular and papal. Professor van der Essen proposes a Spanish origin for the term "ambassador," and Venetian origin, in the epoch of the Renaissance, for the form of modern diplomatic agencies of a permanent nature. Pope Leo X (1503) is credited with the establishment of the system of permanent nunciatures. Previous to the founding of regularized diplomatic agencies by the Republic of St. Mark and by the pope, however, there had been

special, temporary, or quasi-permanent posts of both secular and papal governments.

The author illustrates the changing notions in the qualifications, presumed and proposed purposes, and the financing of diplomatic envoys, and the gradual evolution of offices and techniques (e.g., relative to ranked agents, correspondence, and means of communication) in the foreign affairs secretaries and in the diplomatic missions in the field. As an auxiliary, he indicates the beginnings of courier and postal services. As samples of early modern diplomatic usages and customs, interesting as bases for comparison with present-day practices, one might point to the formulas and manoeuvers in the declaration of war, the qualifications of an ideal ambassador (one widely read in the classics, ancient and contemporary, and able to handle the classical languages as well as German, French, Spanish, and Italian, and, if a papal agent, skilled in theology and canon law), and the use of justificatory *manifestes* (comparable to more modern "white" or other "colored" papers). Incidentally, the *manifeste* of Charles V is cited as being published in 1936, obviously a misprint for 1536.

Since the papacy had peculiarly complex religio-diplomatic status and problems, with expanding international interests after the Thirty Years' War and radically altered potential after the Protestant Revolt, the concluding section of this work is given to an analysis of papal diplomatic origins and development. And, in this, it would seem that Professor van der Essen makes his best contribution. Particularly interesting is his rather full exposition of the founding and evolution of the nunciature of Flanders, a subject with which he is most familiar, having previously edited the correspondence of Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, first nuncio to Flanders.

MARTIN F. HASTING

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The Gold Coast Revolution. The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom. By George Padmore. (New York: British Book Centre Inc.; London: Dennis Dobson Ltd. 1953. Pp. vii, 272. $3.00.)

Mr. Padmore's book is, unfortunately, an incomplete, impassioned, and biased account of the evolution of Gold Coast nationalism. Even aiming at destroying the color bar, the author creates a white bar instead. After seeing him side first with the whole of the Gold Coast against the West, the reader is astonished to see him suddenly turn over to the lawyers in coastal municipalities, condemning meanwhile Gold Coasters in rural areas. Finally he sides with Accra and condemns the very lawyers he

praised on another page (pp. 40, 126). In the last chapter he unpredictably embraces the white man for saving the Gold Coast cocoa crop, the backbone of Gold Coast economy.

The four best pages are the touching character sketch of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, at the end of the book. The noble character of this man makes one feel he is fit to govern. But in the first 244 pages the author, by stressing internal disunion, makes one feel, although he says the opposite, that the Gold Coast is as yet unfit to be self-governed. What a different attitude was manifested by Pope Pius XII who in 1951 raised the Gold Coast in the esteem of the world when he publicly commented on its political progress and said the country had reached an "enviable maturity!"

The impression is given that only two factors, politics and economics, determine evolution in nationalism or patriotism. But the Gold Coast would have no political and economic leaders today if both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, as well as government officials, had not sacrificed their lives and funds to train those leaders. This fact merits more space than a mere line of thanks! The prime minister himself received all his primary and secondary education from a Catholic mission group, the Society of African Missions. The chapter entitled "Pattern of Gold Coast Economy" shows how utterly the cocoa, gold, and other resources of the Gold Coast were exploited. But here again, as so often throughout the book, there is no documentary proof for what is said.

The whole account is rife with generalizations, false statements, partial telling of facts, and contradictions. "State and Church," we are told, "benefited directly from slavery and the slave trade" (p. 16). Actually, popes and missionaries continually fought against it! Gold Coast women will be surprised to learn that "not only women of the royal families, but all Gold Coast women generally enjoy absolute equality with men" (p. 23). We read that a reign of anti-African terror and bloodshed lasted from January 11 to March 6, 1950 (pp. 80-81). Bourret, describing the same event in her scholarly and documented work, says the riot petered out by January 20 [*The Gold Coast* (Stanford, 1952), p. 213].

Prime Minister Nkrumah will read pages 40 and 126 with alarm, because on the former Padmore calls the lawyer class along the coast the ideal rulers of the Gold Coast, and on the latter he condemns them as incompetent. Will the pen of this vacillating author, whose favorite word "imperialism" is used over fifty times, some day be directed against the present prime minister? One wonders.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Tudor Age. By James A. Williamson. (New York-London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 448. $5.00.)

This being the first to appear of nine volumes in a history of England to be edited by W. N. Medlicott, let me comment about the expectations. The books, to be of "medium length" and "readable," will contain only occasional footnotes and brief bibliographies. Enjoined to recognize recent researches, each author will express his individual genius and interpretations. These volumes are expected to appeal to students and general readers alike. Both types will applaud some of these objectives; scholars will wait for its completion before evaluating the series. A judgment based upon Williamson's volume would, I fear, be unfavorable.

How does this book measure up to Medlicott's hopes? It fulfills them with respect to length, readability, and minimum of scholarly paraphernalia. It reflects its author who is known for his contributions to maritime history. It displays a tinge of Froude (pp. 119-21, 137, 423.) Williamson anticipates criticism, confessing to altering traditional emphases by playing down religion and constitutional development while stressing economic and maritime affairs. Some students of Tudor England might dislike these new proportionings. Williamson devotes nine lines to Elizabeth's currency reforms (p. 260), four pages to Elizabethan Puritanism (pp. 329-30, 393-95), two and one-half pages to the Elizabethan religious settlement (pp. 252-254), and occasional glances at cultural changes; he gives a page and one-half to the Guinea trade in 1561-1562 (pp. 257-258) and two pages to the unsuccessful voyages of Frobisher in 1576-1578 (pp. 330-332). Of fifty-seven pages about Henry VII, a dozen relate to Warbeck and fifteen to maritime and commercial matters. Though these discussions concern foreign relations, little room remains for other significant phases of Henry's reign. Quantity is not always an accurate measure of effectiveness of treatment, but brevity can produce misconceptions. I am uncertain how to construe statements that "no bureaucracy" existed in the Tudor period (p. 444), or that "Puritanism came into England" with the Marian exiles (pp. 268, 329). Perhaps I also fail to appreciate the importance of things Williamson deems significant, but surely the council, local government, the nature of the monarchy and its relation with parliament—all merit some attention, and religion deserves more than it receives.

Williamson fails in his duty to present the results of recent investigations. Here are two examples. I find no influence upon the text of Volume I of Philip Hughes' *The Reformation in England,* "The King's Proceedings" (London, 1951), nor is the book listed in the bibliography. Illuminating recent researches in administrative history, indeed, the subject

itself, are ignored. Should one undertake a general history of the age without reference to Hughes or to W. C. Richardson's notable *Tudor Chamber Administration* (1952)? These books were available; if Williamson used them I apologize; but I cannot discern that he did.

The Tudor Age is spotty. It is best on commercial, maritime, and foreign affairs, and inadequate in the areas which tradition has emphasized, constitutional, political, and religious history. I have doubts about its desirability for the general reader, and I am sure the scholar will be unimpressed. Perhaps, some of my criticisms originate in disagreement with Williamson's basic contention that in this period the people of England were "in general more secular-minded" than in preceding centuries or the one to follow (p. vii).

CARL B. CONE

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Born to Believe: An Autobiography. By Lord Pakenham. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1953. Pp. 254. 18s.)

At the age of forty-eight Lord Pakenham, the descendant of an Anglo-Irish landed family, has looked back upon a career in which he moved from the ancestral piety of the Conservative Party and the Carleton Club to the Labor Party, the Catholic Church, and the House of Lords. The resulting volume is as pleasant a book of political memoirs as our frustrasted and ill-tempered age is likely to produce.

The direction of movement from right to left is interesting, and a leftward commitment maintained after conversion to the Catholic Church is very rare in England. The volume is of interest for its account of the Labor government, 1945-1951, as seen by an Oxford don who held posts in the War Office, Civil Aviation, and the Admiralty, and for a year was in charge of British policy in Germany. His sketch of the Labor government is not painted in revolutionary and melodramatic colors and does justice to the role of the Conservatives in the establishment of the welfare state. Lord Pakenham believes that his colleagues in the Labor government were devoted and efficient public servants who took decisively important steps toward a just society. At the same time he recognizes the incompleteness of their work—that nationalization was a bracing slogan but a thorny and unsatisfactory reality to the workingman and that Labor has risen most inadequately to the challenge of international development programs.

The book glows with a cheerful animation and charity. Indeed, only Lord Pakenham's obviously unforced charity makes the volume possible. He is an independent spirit—a charitable maverick. If he had been other-

wise, his volume would have been a gross indiscretion in British politics. As it is, he can speak warmly about people as diverse as Lord Birkenhead, Richard Crossman, Stanley Baldwin, Ernest Bevin, Winston Churchill, Lord Beaverbrook, Evelyn Waugh, and Chancellor Adenauer. The Pakenham anecdotes are really good. My own favorite part of the book is the description of the political and intellectual climate of Oxford in the years before September, 1939.

M. A. FITZSIMONS

University of Notre Dame

AMERICAN HISTORY

The New England Mind from Colony to Province. By Perry Miller. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 513. $6.50.)

Probing the minds of New England Puritans entombed these many generations in their sermons and writings where a nuance betrays an antagonism makes the task of an archaeologist simple and pleasant. In this volume and its predecessor, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century,* Perry Miller has done the work as no one before him has, and all historians of American life and ideas will remain in debt to him for his scholarly researches and sympathetic portrayal of the Puritan mind from 1657, when Richard Mather delivered the farewell exhortation of the first generation, to 1728, when Cotton Mather, his grandson, died. When Richard spoke the New England way had already lost its grip on the second generation; when Cotton died economy had ousted theology.

Miller's probings of the Puritan mentality as it functioned in New England has brought to the surface many illuminating facets. A reviewer can only point out a few of them: a better understanding of the jeremiads and how they tell the story of the emergence of a capitalist mentality from Puritan theology; the reasons for and the theological consequences of the Half-Way Covenant; a deeper grasp of the content and meaning of particular publications. For instance, one must understand why the sudden interest in witchcraft at the end of the seventeenth century to make sense out of Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences.* The reader will appreciate, too, the quiet manner in which Miller corrects the faulty interpretation and conclusions of some historians and chides others for the neglect of important factors and events. Dudley and his friends, the "moderates," were not "pioneers of religious toleration" (p. 141), as some recent scholars would have us believe; Stoddard's revolt was not an assertion of democracy as some have claimed, but an effort to give ministers dictatorial powers (p. 258); the controversy over the smallpox epidemic

(1721) was not, as supposed by moderns, a battle in the warfare between science and theology (p. 348).

The reader will not always agree with the author. One is not prepared to read that "there was no intellectual break with the past" by 1720 (p. 396). This is contrary to Miller's able exposition of the impact of the revolution of 1689 on the Puritan system which was thereby secularized. The author credits new world conditions as the great transformer; one may question this, too. Two powerful factors were not controlled by new world conditions: 1) inherent weaknesses of the system, and 2) the free use of private interpretation. "There is no Syllable in the word of God, intimating any such thing" (p. 256) said Stoddard in denying the church covenant. So argued others. Nothing in Northampton, Ipswich, or Cambridge dictated that argument.

WILLIAM L. LUCEY

College of the Holy Cross

The Traitor and the Spy. By James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1953. Pp. x, 431. $5.75.)

This is a study of the genesis, development, and dénouement of the famous attempt at treason in the history of our country. The *mise en scène* for the climax is created by using André as a foil for Arnold by sketching their careers in parallel and contrast. A good characterization of the three chief conspirators results. Arnold emerges as extremely egotistic, ambitious of wealth and glory, over-sensitive and resentful, brave but impetuous, indiscreet in military action and in business undertakings, not above sharp practice in his desire for gain, utterly careless in keeping financial records, and ignorant of politics and the problems that confronted a harassed Congress. His haggling over the price of his betrayal establishes its deliberateness and the meanness of his spirit. André stands forth as an amateur artist of some promise, a soldier ambitious of military rank, at times a fawning and designing climber, contemptuous of American military men and power, ruthless in war, and, on the whole, noble in death. Peggy Shippen appears as an impertinent and wayward daughter lacking in respect for her father, a devoted wife but an evil genius to her husband, a woman who sacrificed all considerations to her personal aggrandizement.

Undoubtedly the author has combed the sources, but this volume is actually a compound of good history and pure fiction. The history is to be found chiefly in the parts enclosed in quotation marks without, however, the least indication of their provenance. Moreover, all too frequently the author supplements the sources by giving free rein to his imagination.

This results in an omniscience which heightens the interest of the narrative for it gives him entree into mess halls, council chambers, secret meetings, even into bedrooms; it tears away all secrecy from conversations, discussions, and plotting; it lays bare the heart and souls of individuals by revealing their thoughts and emotions. Without a doubt this enlivens the narrative, but the result is fiction, not history. A very serious defect in this study is the tendency of the author to make a mere assumption such as that the first suggestion of treason probably came from the lips of Peggy (p. 254), and then proceed as if the assumption were established fact. Moreover, this work is marred by the author yielding to the delusion that dashes of sex must be interspersed throughout the study to sustain interest. One instance in particular violates the canons of decency and good taste, for it is so bold and offensive as to have no place in decent literature.

In this book the publishers have reached the ultimate in sacrificing the scholar to the assumed prejudices of the so-called general reader. In order that the sensitive eye of the latter be not offended by the sight of references in what presumes to be a serious historical work, footnotes are not only denied a place at the bottom of the page but they are even excluded from the pages following the text. Instead they are embodied in a separate pamphlet which can be obtained by application to the publisher. And when the scholar secures this key to the true value of the book, he can either take the trouble of attaching it to the book in some way or leave it loose and run the risk of loss or misplacement. This is the ultimate in folly.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950. By Rowland Tappan Berthoff. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 296. $5.00.)

The literature on the history of immigrant groups in the United States has been growing of late, but the story of British immigration has hitherto been largely ignored, probably because English, Scotch, Welsh, and Canadians seem so much like Americans, and because our institutions are basically Anglo-Saxon. This volume, therefore, fills a real need, and it does so extremely well.

Part I deals with the problem of economic adjustment. Many British immigrants were skilled craftsmen. They came from the country in which the Industrial Revolution was most advanced. They had no language barriers to surmount, and in the early stages of America's industrial evolution their skills were in great demand. Thus, the British emigrant moved

from a particular industry at home to its American counterpart—in textiles, pottery, paper mills, mining, iron and steel, and other specialties, and made a unique contribution to economic progress in the United States. Cornishmen developed copper and iron mining in Michigan; the Scots were prominent in quarrying and stone-cutting, and the Welsh in coal and slate, and after the McKinley Tariff, in the manufacture of tin. Eventually, American ingenuity outstripped the British, and technology and mechanization made it possible to employ unskilled laborers from eastern and southern Europe. British-Americans either were pushed out, or up, to become foremen, managers, and owners. British-Americans, as leaders in the labor movement, incurred the hostility of American employers, though they espoused nothing more alarming than the relatively conservative co-operative program of British labor unions. A smaller number of British immigrants took to farming, or became gentlemen cow punchers in the range cattle industry of the West.

Part II is concerned with cultural adjustments. Given a common language and cultural heritage, and a relatively high start on the economic ladder, assimilation was not a major problem. Like other foreign-born groups, British-Americans introduced scores of societies and fraternal orders, and tried to perpetuate such social institutions as the Scots' New Year's Eve, the English Yuletide ceremonies, and the Welsh *eisteddfod.* Cricket lost out to the better game of baseball, and soccer has been overshadowed by football, but American track and field meets grew directly out of the "Caledonian Games" of the Scotch. British-Americans were slow to become naturalized, and, at their banquets, toasted a foreign monarch before they drank the health of the president of their adopted country. Their newspapers met the fate of all foreign language papers which do their job well, and died out faster than most because there was no special language group to support them.

Two forces welded Scots, Welsh, English, and Canadians into a British-American community. One was a common hatred for Irish "Papists," whom they held responsible for the violent Anglophobia which marked American politics for many years, as both parties bid for the "Irish vote." Bitter, bigoted battles were fought in the United States between the orange and the green over parochial schools, textbooks, and anniversary celebrations, as the feuds of the old country were perpetuated in the new. The other unifying force came from the area of foreign relations—the Venezuela boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain, the Boer War and finally World War I, during which an Anglo-American alliance was virtually completed. In 1914-1918 British-Americans worked for their mother country with money and propaganda for the same emotional reasons which induced German and Irish-Americans to take the other side.

This book is historical craftsmanship at its best. It is well organized and broadly inclusive. Its tables, charts, and sixty pages of footnotes testify to prodigious research.

CARL WITTKE

Western Reserve University

The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. By Avery O. Craven. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 433. $6.50.)

The central theme of Professor Craven's study is the growth of a sectionalism so violent and heedless that it resulted in breaking down the democratic process in the American national government. This cold war was marked by several crises, particularly the emotional disturbance following the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso, the Kansas struggle, the election of 1856, the John Brown raid, and the election of 1860. Each of these crises is carefully studied from the sources, and in appraising them Professor Craven's judgments are moderate and sound. Besides the treatment of political events, with which this study is largely concerned, it contains an interesting chapter entitled "The Harvest," summarizing the efforts of the South to free itself from cultural and economic dependence on the North. Lucid and intelligent accounts of the election of 1860 and the secession movement show little reason controlled the actions of the politicians and the voting of the southern people.

The most challenging chapter is the final one, entitled "Some Generalizations." Here Professor Craven points out that "Slavery had gradually become the symbol of all the differences and all the conflicts between the sections. It had taken on virtues and vices none of which were its own." Two parallel struggles between the sections occurred simultaneously. One was a power struggle between the northern section dominated by financial-industrial capitalism, requiring the growth of nationalism and seeking unrestrained control of the federal government to carry out its objectives, and the South, dominated by staple agriculture, requiring the maintenance of localism to protect its archaic labor system, and demanding a counterweight in the senate against the economic exploitative policies of the North. Historians have been keenly aware of this power struggle certainly since the days of Charles A. Beard. But Professor Craven has emphasized another struggle, the conflict between the northern conception of *right*, a moral term, and the southern conception of *rights*, a legal term. Thus he states in clear and fresh phraseology the role of abstractions in the complex situation that produced a civil war.

W. CLEMENT EATON

University of Kentucky

Refugees of Revolution. By Carl F. Wittke. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 384. $6.00.)

With this masterly work Professor Wittke contributes another indispensable link in the chain of immigration studies. It will be said, perhaps, that it is his most important book to date. Unquestionably, it is a fascinating and exhaustively thorough model of historical craftsmanship. The "refugees of revolution" were those Germans who, having participated in the abortive liberal movements and the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, emigrated to America as a result of their conflict with the established authorities. They turned their backs upon the legitimate governments of the continent and sought in the United States political liberty and a free scope for their varied talents which in a short time became an important facet of American life.

All of the Forty-Eighters were not facsimiles of Carl Schurz, as the author clearly shows; radicals and social reformers like Heinzen, Weitling, Sorge, Weydemeyer, and Friedrich Hecker come to life in interesting detail. This point is precisely the major contribution of the book. For Dr. Wittke has presented pinpoint detail concerning the Forty-Eighters based on painstaking research in their correspondence, reports, journals, and especially in their newspapers. Here is social and intellectual history of the United States at its best. The result is a highly readable study of America's cultural *Deutschtum* after 1850. The German Forty-Eighters resolved to do battle for German art, music, science, and literature, and they looked upon their political influence in American society as similar to the flight of mediaeval scholars to the West from the Turks of Constantinople. They thought of themselves as the spiritual and intellectual bridge carrying the Enlightenment to the new world. They supported theaters, concerts, papers, singing societies, beer gardens, lectures, educational societies, and folk-dances—all as media of cultural impenetration.

After four beginning chapters on the causes, nature, and outcome of the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, the author develops in nineteen chapters the lives and ideals of the Forty-Eighters as American "Latin Farmers," free-thinkers, political radicals, journalists, social reformers, and exponents of learning. The student of American history will find here another excellent Wittke monograph for a full and mature understanding of our pluralistic society. Carl Wittke has enriched and broadened the basis of American studies, and, it is to be hoped, again re-charted the fading monolithic concepts of this nation's historical character which held the field for far too long a time. His is not the first study of the Forty-Eighters, but it is a distinct advance over the collection of essays edited by A. E. Zucker in 1950.

American church historians will find especially interesting the attitude of the Forty-Eighters toward organized religion, and more particularly toward Catholicism. In his scattered references to this topic Wittke has indicated their open dislike and mistrust of "Romanism," which they considered mediaeval and degrading to liberalized human aspirations, as well as their consistent efforts to counteract the Catholic Church and its hierarchy in the United States. The equal mistrust and open resentment of German Catholic immigrants to the Forty-Eighters, and the importance of this opposition in the formulation of their religious and sociological programs is not, however, fully developed. But the book is not concerned with such a comparison, nor with an analysis of the relative contribution of each group. There is an excellent chapter on the Turners and the implications of their philosophy.

Refugees of Revolution is a well-balanced study. It so admirably investigates the religious, political, and social characteristics of the Forty-Eighters that the reader's mind is left with many original and challenging thoughts. Professor Wittke has made a real advance in the adult study of American thought and social history by this specialized effort.

COLMAN J. BARRY

St. John's University
Collegeville

The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America. By Richard J. Storr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 195. $5.00.)

Academic controversy and conflict, coupled with constructive proposals for curriculum expansion in American higher education, have never been completely absent. If the current mid-twentieth century scene occasionally becomes almost unduly absorbed in such questions, it is reassuring to know that our predecessors in the first half of the nineteenth century were faced with many similar problems. The fact that some of the partial solutions to these problems were reached only after long and sometimes bitter controversy in itself makes the reading of these pages a rewarding experience, especially for those immersed in re-evaluational educational projects.

This work describes in some detail the academic conflicts involved in the study of the college curriculum with reference to university expansion as they dominated American education during the first half of the nineteenth century. If the very minuteness of some of the anecdotes recounted at times becomes almost cumbersome, the evidence of extensive scholarly research into minutes, catalogues, manuscripts, and varied unpublished official documents of early nineteenth-century centers of higher education probably justifies the too staccato—term paper—note-taking tone this

volume disturbingly manifests. Discussion of inchoate plans for the representative universities that were within the century to come into being is largely confined to Columbia, Harvard, New York University, and Yale. Other colleges, however, in the West and South, are to a lesser degree included within the scope of this study.

An over hasty correlation of index, notes, and text has led to an occasional arbitrary arrangement. References to Benjamin Rush are typical of this (p. 155). Some bibliographical material included seems unrelated to the text; other pertinent sources are omitted. An example of the latter is the monumental edition of the *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (ed. L. H. Butterfield, 1951). On the other hand, Abraham Flexner's *Daniel Coit Gilman* (1946) and Fabian Franklin's *The Life of Daniel Coit Gilman* (1910) are cited in the bibliography, although there is little evidence of the broadly humanizing tone of these volumes in the scattered allusions to Gilman.

The repetitious grouping of basic college versus university proposed curriculum plans tends to remove to discreetly buried footnotes (exactly 683) at the end of the volume matters deserving of more attention. Perhaps, the most startling example of this is found in note 1, Chapter I. Georgetown University, as early as 1822, was offering the degree of master of arts to bachelors of arts who remained longer and studied the higher branches of mathematics and philosophy. This same note includes a brief reference to published works of Father John Tracy Ellis and Professor Roy J. Deferrari in the field of early graduate studies. The broad generalizations so briefly alluded to here tend to invalidate some of the conclusions later presented. The author does, however, offer self-imposed limitations of his subject to "those proposals and projects which anticipated modern graduate schools of arts and sciences in their institutionalized forms."

Almost as an afterthought, the reader is informed that no classic comparable to Newman's *The Idea of a University* appeared to encourage Americans. Yet in the very year, 1852, that Newman was delivering his Dublin lectures on the scope of a university education, Samuel B. Ruggles was discussing with George T. Strong and Benjamin Peirce the dream of transforming Columbia College into Columbia University. Great names in American education sweep through these pages. The efforts of Alexander D. Bache, Henry P. Tappan, Charles Astor Bristed, the Timothy Dwights, Edward Everett, and many others to respond to the "spirit of the age" are concisely presented in this summary study of their contributions. Even for this reason alone, this volume is a real contribution to the available literature in this field.

JOSEPH G. DWYER

Iona College

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

The Conquest and Colonization of Honduras, 1502-1550. By Robert S. Chamberlain. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1953. Pp. v, 264. $3.50 paper; $4.00 cloth.)

Probably no other area of the Spanish conquest of America poses the problems to the student and researcher as does that of the history of Central America in the early sixteenth century. Clear-cut patterns of military, political, and economic development are simply absent in this turbulent land. The result has been that many authors of surveys and colonial histories merely mention the chaotic conditions and to save themselves and their readers confusion go no further. Since H. H. Bancroft published his three-volume work on *The History of Central America* in 1887, there have been few offerings in English which attempted to delve more deeply into the history of this area and reassess some of the judgments that have been made. Mr. Chamberlain has spent some years with this subject, studying in particular one of the key individuals in both Yucatan and Honduras, Francisco de Montejo. The volume under review is his second, the first, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan,* having been published in 1948.

The first period considered is that from the discovery to 1537, in which the author surveys the diverse groups from Panama, New Spain, and Santo Domingo which attempted to bring the area under their jurisdiction. The accession of Montejo to the governorship after his failure in Yucatan, and the details of the complications which arose with Pedro de Alvarado over control of the area, are well handled. The struggle between these two *conquistadores* is, with substantiating documentation, resolved in favor of Montejo. The succeeding section develops the rule of Montejo, 1537-1539, his pacification of the Indians, and his far-sighted administrative policy. The last major division details the chaos that once more ensued when Alvarado returned to claim authority in the years from 1539 to 1544. The volume terminates with an institutional survey of the area.

Dr. Chamberlain's book will interest the Latin American scholar. The source material is voluminous, apparently well chosen, and objectively used. The detail, which at times makes the narrative complicated, is necessary to a full understanding of the forces, external and internal, which made Honduras-Higueras a land of chaos. It is an excellent piece of work.

MARTIN J. LOWERY

De Paul University

Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686. By C. R. Boxer. (London: University of London; Athlone Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 451. 35s.)

Salvador Correia de Sá lived during the most difficult era of Portuguese history. Born when his country was under Spanish domination and harassed by enemies, he lived to see Portugal independent and its empire in America and Africa not only free but expanding. Of a family long associated with Brazil, especially with Rio de Janeiro as founders and governors, Salvador de Sá as a young man beat off Piet Heyn's attack on Espirito Santo. Later he was an Indian fighter in Brazil, Paraguay, and Tucumán, marrying a wealthy heiress in the latter place. Several times governor of Rio, he was the protector of the Jesuits when they promulgated Urban VIII's unpopular brief against Indian slavery. Returning to Lisbon, he became a member of the *conselho ultramarino* of which he would eventually become the oldest and most experienced member. The first general of the Brazil fleets, he had a dubious rôle in the abortive move against Recife in 1645. From Rio in 1648, he led the expedition against Luanda where he was governor and captain general. Back in Lisbon he was made a member of the war council in 1652 and appointed captain general of southern Brazil in 1658. Once more in Portugal he gained Afonso VI's confidence and supported that monarch in his unsuccessful struggle against the future Pedro II. His life in danger, he was at first protected by the Jesuits, but soon restored to favor, he greatly influenced colonial policy until his death. Such activity would entitle him to a place in history, but besides these he was a patron of the missions and of education, a colonial shipbuilder, an administrator of mines, and a colonizer.

Much more than a needed biography, this volume is a welcome history of seventeenth-century Portugal and Brazil. In his preface Mr. Boxer says that he has tried to avoid the pitfalls of exaggerating the part played by his hero, and thereby distorting the history of the times. In what must be considered a definitive biography (barring a surprising discovery of personal papers), the author has more than avoided the pitfall. Not the most prominent figure of his age, Salvador de Sá here correctly occupies his place in his country's history.

In an excellently written volume Mr. Boxer has given us the best English analysis of the western Portuguese world in the seventeenth century. Besides achieving frequent remarkable syntheses, he has not been afraid to champion unpopular ideas. His remarks on the West India Company's failure (p. 46) are provocative. His short, adequate presentation of the rôle of the Jews in Bahia (pp. 50-51, 54), while not new, should put an end to accusations of their perfidy. The discussions of the terrain, etc.,

in Brazil and elsewhere are excellent. The analysis of the conflict between Afonso VI and his brother is the most sympathetic to the former monarch in recent years. There are many other instances where Mr. Boxer has either contributed or ably synthesized, but lack of space does not permit their mention here.

No review, I suppose, would be complete without some animadversions. Happily there are few in connection with this work. One can, I think, object to the lengthy, hostile, and, perhaps, irrelevant review of Jesuit education. (This is not anti-Jesuitism for the society is given full and just treatment elsewhere. However, his strictures on the Portuguese Jesuit condonation of African slavery and the slave trade in contrast to Dominican and Spanish Jesuit condemnation are eminently correct.) The identical statements attributed to Usselincx and John Maurice (pp. 45, 115, and 169) should have been documented. There are also seeming contradictions concerning Jesuit influence (pp. 145, 256).

Evidently if the above are the only points of objection, there is great merit in this book. We have been in Mr. Boxer's debt for his past contributions; the present work makes that debt staggering. Finally the format of the volume is good. Well illustrated, there are helpful appendices, maps, a glossary, and an index. In short the work leaves little to be desired, physically or intellectually.

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

Marquette University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Pope Pius XII set a precedent on October 14, 1953, when he assisted at the inauguration of the new North American College in Rome and personally dedicated it with the ritual blessing. Addressing the throng of seminarians, prelates, alumni, and statesmen who had gathered in the handsome new chapel of the college, the Holy Father pointed out the startling contrast between the lot of the Catholics in those lands where persecution rages today, and the lot of American Catholics, whose Church has flourished, he said, "in an atmosphere of untrammeled freedom, where the word of God is not bound. . . ."

Among the many prelates who attended the rite there were thirty-six Americans, of whom nineteen are alumni of the American College. The *Osservatore Romano* of October 15, in reporting the dedication and the Pope's English discourse, gives the following list of these American prelates. Cardinals: Their Eminences Edward Mooney, Samuel Stritch, and Francis Spellman; archbishops: Robert E. Lucey, Joseph E. Ritter, Aloysius J. Muench, Joseph P. Hurley, Leo Binz, and William D. O'Brien; bishops (in addition to the Most Reverend Martin J. O'Connor, Rector of the College): William O. Brady, Charles F. Buddy, Francis Cotton, John F. Dearden, Henry G. Grimmelsman, Edward A. Fitzgerald, Albert L. Fletcher, Richard O. Gerow, Charles P. Greco, Ralph L. Hayes (Rector of the College, 1935-1944), Francis P. Leipzig, William T. Mulloy, Wendelin J. Nold, John J. Russell, John P. Treacy, Charles D. White, Lawrence J. Shehan, Allen J. Babcock (Vice-Rector of the College, 1936-1940), Floyd J. Begin, John P. Cody, Joseph H. Hodges, J. Carroll McCormick, and Leo L. Pursley. Occupying the place of honor among the diplomats was Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, United States Ambassador to Italy.

The new college is on the Janiculum Hill near St. Peter's, and occupies a terrain subject to Vatican City, as acknowledged by the Lateran Treaty of February 11, 1929. Both seminary and chapel were designed by Count Enrico Pietro Galeazzi, Architect of the Sacred Apostolic Palaces, and will accommodate 300 students. The costs of construction, amounting to about four million dollars, have been paid by the American hierarchy, the college alumni, and other benefactors. The new plant replaces the original North American College which opened on December 8, 1859, in a former Visitandine monastery on the Via dell'Umiltà. Since its opening the old college has played a prominent part in American Catholic history. Pius IX visited there on January 29, 1860; in 1870 it was the scene of conferences auxiliary to the Vatican Council; and in 1883 a commission of

American prelates gathered there to discuss the agenda of the 1884 plenary council of Baltimore. Forced to close in 1940 because of World War II, the American College reopened on its ancient site in 1948. Now that the undergraduate department has moved to the Janiculum, the old college, renamed Casa Santa Maria dell'Umiltà, will house the graduate students.

The history of this institution, which is being written by Robert F. McNamara, professor of church history in St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, is due for publication some time in 1955.

Few names appear more frequently in the official correspondence between the Holy See and English-speaking nations in the latter half of the nineteenth century than that of Dr. Bernard Smith, the Irish-born Roman professor, agent, and *cicerone*. The discovery of his correspondence in 1951 in the archives of the Abbey of St. Paul's-outside-the-Walls, and the microfilm recording of this correspondence (at least in part) for St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, inspire the hope that somebody may now undertake a scholarly biographical study of him. Meanwhile the following sketch of his life may prove helpful.

Bernard Smith, born in County Cavan, Ireland, on September 12, 1812, entered the Irish College in Rome on October 10, 1834, as a student for his home Diocese of Kilmore. He was ordained in Rome on September 21, 1839; and after having won a brilliant Ph.D. and S.T.D. (the latter in 1840), he left the Irish College on October 25, 1843.

Father Smith is next found as a novice in the Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino near Naples in what was then the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Here he made his monastic profession on March 21, 1847, and was soon appointed to the post of cellarer of the abbey. In 1848, however, when the revolution broke out against Ferdinand II, and Great Britain took the side of the revolutionaries, Ferdinand's government so plagued Dom Bernard, a British subject, that he had to leave both abbey and realm. To make this possible, his superior dispensed him from his monastic vows and restored him to the status of a secular priest. Whether this was intended to be a permanent or a temporary arrangement is not clear.

Returning to Rome, Father Smith served as Vice-Rector of the Irish College (1850-1855). At about the same time he was named professor of dogma at the Urban College of Propaganda Fide (and, later on, of Hebrew as well) and appointed a consultor of the Congregation of the Index. In 1857 when his former colleagues at Monte Cassino, Dom Simplicio Pappalettere, became Abbot of St. Paul's-outside-the-Walls, he made arrangements for Dr. Smith to be received again into the Benedictine order as a monk of St. Paul's with permission, however, to reside

in the more convenient Convent of San Callisto in Trastevere. As a Benedictine he was named rector of the rehabilitated Abbey of San Anselmo in 1868 and continued to occupy that post for a time. He was also official procurator of the English Benedictine Congregation from 1879 to 1889, and, from 1889 on, official procurator for the American Cassinese Benedictine Congregation; and he was of service to various Italian and French Benedictine communities as well. From 1862 on he was a consultor of the new Congregation for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite, and from 1874 a consultor of the Congregation of the Inquisition. In 1880, as a result of the Thomistic reform of Leo XIII, Dom Bernard yielded his chair of theology at the Urban College to Francesco Satolli; but in the same year he was named a consultor of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

Dom Bernard was especially active in Roman-American ecclesiastical affairs. From December 7, 1859, to March 3, 1860, he was the first superior of the North American College, with the title of pro-rector. He was at various times Roman agent for the ordinaries of New York, Buffalo, Newark, Philadelphia, Louisville, Baltimore, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, St. Augustine, Savannah, Mobile, Pittsburgh, Boston, Hartford, Richmond, Dubuque, Leavenworth, St. Cloud, and San Francisco, as well as for several Canadian prelates; likewise for the Paulist Fathers, the Kentucky Trappists, and for several congregations of American nuns.

His knowledge of Rome, his English tongue, and his social graces also fitted him to serve as Roman guide to many prominent English-speaking visitors, especially non-Catholics, including the future Edward VII of England, President Franklin K. Pierce, and novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne. The contacts thus established sometimes resulted in the conversion of these personages. It was Dr. Smith, for instance, who received Dr. Levi S. Ives, former Episcopalian Bishop of North Carolina, into the Church in 1852 (Archives of the Archdiocese of New York, I-32, Diary of John M. Farley, February 8, 1869).

About 1885 Pope Leo XIII named Dom Bernard titular abbot of the Abbey of Polirone (Mantua). He died of pneumonia at San Callisto in Rome on December 11, 1892, and was buried at the Campo Verano, Rome. The only portrait ever made of him is the painting by George P. A. Healy in 1870, the original of which is in the North American College, and was reproduced in Henry A. Brann, *History of the American College . . . Rome, Italy* (New York, 1910). (Cf. Archives of the Archdiocese of New York, I-5, Ella B. Edes to John M. Farley, Rome, December 11, 1895).

The above information is based on data from the archives of the Irish College, Rome, the Abbey of Monte Cassino, and the microfilm of Smith's

monastic obituary at St. John's Abbey (Bernard Smith Papers, Box I, No. 1). The obituaries in the London *Tablet* (December 17, 1892), the New York *Freeman's Journal* (December 31, 1892), and the Boston *Pilot* (January 7, 1893) were also used. Further details were taken from the Vatican's *Annuario Pontificio* (under various titles), 1855-1892; William L. Reenan (Ed.), MS, "The Hawthorne Diary of 1859" (Freelands, 1931); and Callistus [Edie], O.S.B., "Letter from Rome," Rome, February 10, 1951, in *Scriptorium* (St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota), XI (March, 1951), 21-35.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Dinand Library at the College of the Holy Cross are the library and literary remains of Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts. The library consists of about 2,000 volumes, mostly in books dealing with American history and government, the American navy, and international affairs. There are about seventy volumes of scrapbooks which consist of newspaper clippings and which cover Walsh's career in the government, copies of his letters as Governor of Massachusetts, and six paper files of correspondence. Dorothy G. Wayman, author of *David I. Walsh: Citizen and Patriot* (Milwaukee, 1951), has added to the collection from materials she gathered while writing the biography.

The library was also made the recipient of a gift from Mrs. David J. Johnson of Boston, widow of Dr. David J. Johnson, alumnus of Holy Cross, in the form of a collection of original signed drawings, etchings, manuscripts, and photographs contributed by famous men and women of World War I to "Their Book," one of the projects used to raise money for French orphans during and after the war. The collection consists of 340 items with contributions from political leaders of the allies like Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, and Lord Curzon. Literary contributors numbered Hilaire Belloc, Arnold Bennett, Joseph Conrad, Walter de la Mare, Louise Imogen Guiney, Robert Bridge, and Owen Wister, and among the artists there appear the names of John S. Sargent and Ralph Adams Cram.

Five fireproof rooms of Santa Barbara Mission have been made available by the Franciscan friars to house the library and museum of the Santa Barbara Historical Society. The society has undertaken to finance the remodeling, equipping, and furnishing of the old Mission quarters, the original building of which dates back to the founding of the Mission in 1786 under Fermin Lasuen, O.F.M., the successor of the famous Junipero Serra.

Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, has announced that over 3,000 volumes relating to Spanish and Latin American culture have been acquired for its library as a result of the fund established in 1943 in memory of Robert Lee Watson by Mrs. Watson and their daughter, Mrs. José Renato Lacayo.

The preparation of diocesan histories, which has increased with the occurrence of the centenaries of several mid-western dioceses, raises again the question of the best method of treating religious history of a geographical division that is purely arbitrary. Several dioceses in the Middle West have almost the same early history, and repetition of this account by each diocesan historian is necessarily uninspiring. In later periods the differentiation is often equally indistinct. The enumeration of buildings, parishes, and persons is likewise rather monotonous. There seems to be room for a new technique in the study of local church history in the United States on the diocesan level.

The reduction of the number of graduate students brought about by the present handling of the military draft has changed the competition for the existing fellowship in history and the other studies of the liberal arts curriculum. The number of scholarships and fellowships available practically outnumber the applicants. This situation has brought into unpleasant relief the lack of such scholarships and fellowships in Catholic institutions. The attention of the alumni of these institutions should be directed to this very important need. With the increasing enrollment in Catholic lower schools, which in time will pass on to the colleges and universities, there will be a greater need for teachers with adequate training. Such teachers will not be available unless they receive aid while making their higher studies. Even those parents who are pleased to support their children through the college years feel some difficulty in arranging to support them in graduate work. Many really capable students cannot support themselves and do creditable work at the same time.

The Joseph Dunn Memorial Fund for Celtic Languages and Literature has been established at the Catholic University of America by his sister, Miss Abigail Dunn. The presentation was made in connection with ceremonies on Tuesday, December 8. The principal address was made by the Reverend James A. Geary who retired this year as professor of Celtic languages and literature. The Most Reverend Rector, Bishop McEntegart, made the speech of acceptance. The Honorable John Joseph Hearne, Irish Ambassador, attended the ceremonies.

Department of State Publication No. 5034 presents the 1952 report of President Eisenhower to Congress on *U. S. Participation in the U. N.*

It contains 285 pages and sells for sixty cents (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.).

A pamphlet, *The History of the Catholic Church in the South Bend Area,* by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., has been published by the Aquinas Library and Book Shop of South Bend. The pamphlet is a lecture given by Father McAvoy at the Aquinas Library in South Bend on March 8, 1953.

The Palimpsest, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, devoted its issue of August, 1953, to "The Roman Catholic Church in Iowa," by Matthias M. Hoffmann, pastor of St. Francis Xavier Church at Dyersville, Iowa. This attractive brochure surveys the history of the Church in the State of Iowa from the earliest times down to the present. It contains a series of excellent illustrations, a map of Iowa showing the outlines of the four dioceses, and a narrative which draws upon Monsignor Hoffmann's able volume, *The Church Founders of the Northwest* (Milwaukee, 1937). It would be a real service to American Catholic history to have similar summaries of the Church's history for every state in the union. The brochure can be purchased for 15c per copy from the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

Pioneer Priest in Nevada County is the title of a brief brochure by John T. Dwyer, chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, San Francisco. Father Dwyer therein tells the story of John Shanahan (1792-1870), who built the first Catholic church in the historic mining town of Nevada City, California, and who died there in August, 1870, after nearly twenty years of a priestly ministry spent in the area of the gold fields.

An excellent example of student effort in history is afforded by the *Scriptorium,* an illustrated periodical prepared for private distribution by the clerics of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, under the capable direction of their professor of church history, Colman J. Barry, O.S.B. The issue of December, 1953, contained five articles, a selection of the letters of Abbot Rupert Seidenbusch, O.S.B., to the Ludwig Missionsverein of Munich translated and edited by the students, a section devoted to book reviews, and a chronicle of the St. John's community since the previous issue. The Seidenbusch letters, running in time from 1869 to 1874, give a good picture of the vicissitudes of a frontier religious community, and the article on the cyclone which struck St. John's in June, 1894—accompanied as it is with some splendid pictures of the damage done by the storm—is local history at its best. The magazine had the advantage of several artistic designers and the mimeographing was

done in a very clear and neat manner. The 116 pages of this particular issue give clear indication of the amount of labor that was expended upon its production, but it would be difficult to think of a better way to teach students the rules of historical method than to have them employ their talents on a magazine of this type.

The 1952 volume of *Lateranum* (nova series, an. XVIII) is entirely devoted to a study by Michele Maccarrone in eight chapters on the history of the papal title, *Vicarius Christi.*

Daniel A. Binchy of the Dublin School of Advanced Studies delivered a series of three lectures on mediaeval Celtic law in Cambridge, Massachusetts, last month under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America. The lectures were made possible through a generous gift to the academy from one of its members who is interested in Celtic studies. Mr. Binchy will be remembered by many for his splendid volume, *Church and State in Fascist Italy* (Oxford, 1941).

At a meeting of the American Committee on Renaissance Studies, held in the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, January 30, 1954, the Renaissance Society of America was established. The American Catholic Historical Association was represented by Walter W. Wilkinson of Georgetown University. The society's purpose is the advancement of learning in the field of Renaissance studies, especially the promotion of interchanges among the various fields, such as history, art, literature, philosophy, and theology. Applications for membership should be addressed to Renaissance Society of America, 112 Low Library, Columbia University, New York City 27. Membership dues are $4.00 per year, and members will receive the publication *Renaissance News.*

The latest issue of *Orientalia Christiana periodica* (1953) contains a scholarly article by Professor Oscar Halecki of Fordham University on the subject, "Possevino's Last Statement on Polish-Russian Relations" (pp. 261-302). The career of Antonio Possevino (c. 1533-1611), the famous Jesuit diplomat and scholar, is well known to students of the Catholic Reformation in eastern Europe because of his eventful diplomatic missions for the Holy See in Sweden, Poland, and Russia, as well as for his historical work, *Moscovia* (Vilna, 1586). Professor Halecki's contribution lies in the careful and detailed analysis which he gives to an important document—neglected by previous writers—namely, Possevino's reply of May 5, 1587, to Stanislaus Gomoliński, Provost of Posnań, who had requested the Jesuit's views concerning the delicate question of the succession to the throne of Poland following the death of King Stephen Báthory. The reply constituted a long memorandum of nearly five folio

pages in which Possevino set down not only his ideas on the Polish succession but, too, included reflections about Moscow which he had visited during the reign of Ivan IV (1533-1584) and the all important matter of reunion of the Eastern Church with Rome. The Latin text of the letter is included (pp. 298-302) at the end of the author's long and learned analysis of the document. This article is based upon materials which Professor Halecki collected in the Vatican Archives and the archives of the Jesuit General in Rome during the academic year, 1952-1953, when he was the holder of a Fulbright scholarship.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Canadian Society of Marian Studies, in co-operation with Laval University and the Universities of Montreal and Ottawa, are sponsoring an essay contest on the subject of any aspect of the Marian history of Canada. The first prizes are two trips to Rome. The essays may be written in either English or French and must be submitted not later than May 31, 1954. The contest is intended to stimulate interest in the role of the Blessed Mother in Canadian history and, too, as a preparation for the Marian Congress to be held at the National Shrine, August 5-15, 1954. Further information on the contest may be obtained by writing to the Canadian Marian History Contest, National Shrine, Cap de la Madeleine, Quebec, Canada.

On June 10, 1904, a group of English Catholics who were interested in preserving the original sources of their history since the Protestant Revolt gathered at Archbishop's House, Westminster, and founded the Catholic Record Society. Archbishop Francis Bourne presided at the meeting, and among the members of the first council of the society were familiar names such as Edwin Burton, the biographer of Bishop Challoner, John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., the learned Jesuit historian from Farm Street, and Joseph Gillow, the first volume of whose biographical dictionary of the English Catholics since the break with Rome had appeared in 1885. They numbered at the outset seventy-three members. The society will, therefore, reach its golden jubilee in June of this year, and the American Catholic Historical Association wishes to offer to its sister society in England its sincere congratulations on the splendid fulfillment of its original aim in the publication of source materials for English Catholic history and, likewise, to extend a heartfelt wish for the society's future growth and welfare. In the fifty years of its existence it has remained true to its original purpose; up to 1951 it had published forty-seven volumes of ably edited documents dealing with the English Catholics since the mid-sixteenth century. In his introduction to the first volume, which bore the title *Miscellanea I* (London, 1905), the then Abbot Francis Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B., recalled the attempt many years before of Lord Acton to found a similar group, which he intended to

call the Lingard Society. Writing to Richard Simpson from Munich on December 6, 1860, Acton outlined his plan and called for Simpson's help in editing the documents. He said: "If you make a list of what has been published, I will make a list of what might be. Really this is a serious matter, and we might do some service in it" [Abbot Gasquet (Ed.), *Lord Acton and His Circle* (New York, 1916), p. 156]. But the necessary support of the English Catholics was not forthcoming and Acton and his little band of scholars were forced to admit failure for their projected society.

The annual general meeting of the Catholic Record Society was held on January 13 at Farm Street in London, where Alphonsus Bonnar, O.F.M., of St. Bonaventure's House of Studies at Cambridge recalled to the members the circumstances of their beginnings in 1904. A considerable amount of sentiment was reported from the meeting for transforming the organization into more of a Catholic historical society as such with less emphasis on the publication of records as its principal aim. With the possibilities of accumulating large quantities of original source materials now so greatly simplified by the varied processes of photoduplication there is, to be sure, much less reason for any historical group to devote their chief energies to that end. Of late years the society has enlisted relatively meager support among the English Catholics, a fact which was deplored by the editor of the *Tablet* (January 23), who felt it was a rather disgraceful reflection of the indifference of the English Catholics to their own history. In noting the promise of active use of microfilm copies of English Catholic documents, Mr. Douglas Woodruff remarked that the society could anticipate great reinforcements from the graduates of American Catholic colleges in search of materials for their dissertations. But the arrival of large numbers of American Catholic graduate students equipped, as Mr. Woodruff stated, with microfilm cameras, "to worm out the last secrets of the most retiring seventeenth and eighteenth century Catholics" was probably not intended to be taken seriously. Perhaps Mr. Woodruff was merely indulging his fondness for poking fun at American research students for their determination to track down every scrap of available evidence on the subject of their theses.

Readers of the REVIEW who are interested in the history of English Catholicism since the sixteenth century will find a valuable summary of the holdings of the archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster in an article entitled "Archives of the Faith. The Records Available at Westminster" in the *Tablet* of London for February 6. The description of these rich collections was occasioned by the fact that on January 30 Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster, was host to the members

of the Society of Local Archivists at Archbishop's House. The meeting brought out the society's largest attendance on record for a tour and lecture on the manuscripts by Father Bernard Fisher, who since 1947 has been Archivist of the Archdiocese of Westminster. Students in search of unpublished source materials on the history of Catholicism in England since the break with Rome will wish to check this article carefully.

The winter number of the *Downside Review*, the quarterly of Downside Abbey, Bath, England, carried two articles of interest to our readers. Eric John discusses the new work of Jean Daniélou, S.J., of the Catholic Institute of Paris, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* under the title "Daniélou on History," and Dom Ralph Russell uses John P. McKnight's *The Papacy. A New Appraisal* (New York, 1953) and the English pamphlets, *Infallible Fallacies* and Nathaniel Micklein's *The Pope's Men* to treat of "English and American Democracy and the Papacy." The *Downside Review* sells for four shillings or sixty cents per issue, post free.

Father David McRoberts of St. Peter's College, Cardross, Scotland, has republished his *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* which originally appeared in the *Innes Review* in 1952. The twenty-eight page brochure may be obtained from John S. Burns and Sons, 195 Buccleuch Street, Glasgow C.3, Scotland, for two shillings and sixpence.

John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history in the Catholic University of America and managing editor of the REVIEW, has been invited to deliver a series of four lectures on the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago on January 24-28, 1955. Father Ellis' subject will be the Catholic Church in the United States treated from the historical angle.

The new managing editor of the *American Historical Review*, Boyd C. Shafer, to whom the editors of the *Catholic Historical Review* extend their best wishes and a warm welcome as a neighbor in the national capital, recalls in the January, 1954, number, the first issue to appear under his editorship, a recommendation made in 1932 by a committee of the American Historical Association which is worthy of repetition from time to time in all history journals. It was to the effect that book reviewers should keep in mind that reviews should be "about the books reviewed and that reviewers save their essays for their own works. . . . Reviewers should evaluate, with reasons, the books being reviewed" (p. 512).

John O'Connor Jr. of the Department of Fine Arts of the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh was elected president of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at the meeting held on January 4. April 17 of this year marks the 200th anniversary of the first Mass to be offered in Pittsburgh, an event which the society will commemorate later this month.

John Francis Bannon, S.J., chairman of the Department of History in Saint Louis University, has been named a member of the board of editors of the *Hispanic American Historical Review.*

Thomas E. Downey, professor of Latin American history in the University of Notre Dame, has renewed his leave of absence, and has returned to his post as executive secretary of the Instituto Brazil-Estados Unidos in Rio de Janeiro. The number of students taking advantage of this cultural center approximates 5,000 each year.

At the University of Notre Dame Theodore Hodges, Charles Poinsatte, and Ralph Weber have been appointed instructors in history; William Miller is on leave of absence; and Frederick B. Pike has been named an instructor and has replaced Dr. Thomas E. Downey in the Latin American Program.

Martin R. P. McGuire has been appointed a member of the Executive Committee, Fulbright Board of Foreign Scholarships, and he serves as a member of the Planning and Selection Committees. He has also been appointed a member of the Executive Committee, Medieval and Renaissance Translations and Commentaries, and named chairman of the Committee on Medieval and Renaissance Texts, American Council of Learned Societies.

Patrick W. Skehan, professor of Semitic languages in the Catholic University of America, will leave about the end of June for a year of research at the Palestine Archaeological Museum in (Arab) Jerusalem, under appointment as the annual professor for 1954-1955 of the American School of Oriental Research in that city. Father Skehan will continue for the A.S.O.R. the work being done this year by Dr. Frank Cross of the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. He will be the American School's representative in preparing for publication some part of the very considerable manuscript fragments in Hebrew or Aramaic, mainly from the first century A.D., recovered since 1947 from hillside caves and settlements in the desert of Judaea, overlooking the Dead Sea. About one-fourth of the fragments are Old Testament texts. The under-

taking is under the general direction of G. Lankester Harding, Director of Antiquities for the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan and Acting Curator of the Museum, and of Père Roland de Vaux, O.P., of the Ecole Pratique d'Etudes Bibliques (S. Etienne).

Hugh J. Somers, who for many years was professor of history and then vice-president of St. Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, was named president of the University in February. Father Somers took his doctorate under the late Monsignor Peter Guilday with a dissertation entitled *The Life and Times of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, First Bishop of Upper Canada, 1762-1840* (Washington, 1931). He has been a member of the Association since 1942.

The annual convocation of the Academy of American Franciscan History was held on December 14. It commemorated the fourth centennial of the establishment of the Franciscan Order in Chile. The principal address was delivered by Howard F. Cline, Director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, and the academy's Serra Award for 1953 was conferred upon Clarence H. Haring, emeritus professor of Latin American History in Harvard University.

The September 4, 1953, issue of the *Monitor*, the official weekly paper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, carried with it a large illustrated supplement of 136 pages which was devoted to historical sketches of all the varied Catholic activities of the archdiocese: the hierarchy, priesthood, colonial missions, Pious Fund, schools, seminaries, charities, lay organizations, etc. Along with the narratives—contributed by some twenty-five different authors under the general editorship of Father Walter J. Tappe, editor of the *Monitor*—interesting contemporary photographs of early San Francisco were included. The publication commemorated the centennial of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, which was erected by Pius IX on July 29, 1853. It will be of definite value to the future historian of Catholicism in the San Francisco area.

On March 21, 1854, four Benedictines from the Abbey of Einsiedeln in Switzerland dedicated a little log cabin on a farm about six miles south of Ferdinand, Indiana, under the patronage of St. Meinrad. The now flourishing St. Meinrad's Archabbey—from which daughter abbeys in Arkansas, Louisiana, Illinois, and South Dakota have since been founded—will commemorate its centennial in a three-day celebration in October. By that time it is expected that the centennial history, which is being written by Albert Kleber, O.S.B., will have been published by the abbey press.

Francis X. Talbot, S.J., died suddenly on December 3. He would have been sixty-five years of age on January 25. Father Talbot's major field was literature and for fourteen years he served as literary editor of *America* before assuming in 1936 the post of editor-in-chief, which he held for eight years. In his later years his interest turned more to history and the result was two able biographies of the Jesuit martyrs of North America, viz., *Saint among Savages* (New York, 1935), a life of St. Isaac Jogues, and *Saint among the Hurons* (New York, 1949), the biography of St. Jean de Brébeuf. At the time of his death Father Talbot was assistant pastor of Holy Trinity Church in Washington.

Abbé Félix Klein died on December 31, 1953, at the age of ninety-one at his place of retirement, La Fraternité Sacérdotale de Gargenville near Paris, and was buried on January 2. Abbé Klein is best known among Catholic historians in the United States for his part in the Americanist controversy of the late 1890's. By his study of the work of Cardinal Lavigerie in 1890, his translation of the speeches of Archbishop John Ireland, as well as by his lectures and articles in *Le Correspondant*, Klein had manifested his participation in the *ralliément* inspired by Pope Leo XIII. The translation in 1897 of the life of Father Isaac Hecker which he edited, and for which he wrote a preface, precipitated the real crisis of the American controversy that ended only with the papal letter, *Testem benevolentiae*, in January, 1899. Abbé Klein made a quick submission and withdrew the book from sale, but later regretted his hasty action because it was interpreted as an admission of guilt. Twice thereafter he visited the United States, publishing an account of the first visit in a volume entitled *Au pays de la vie intense* (Paris, 1904). During World War I he acted as chaplain to the American Red Cross in France. In these and other activities Abbé Klein manifested an intense interest in Americans and the American way of life. Most of his other writings were of a spiritual character, indicative of the high spiritual and intellectual character of this fine priest. He retired to Gargenville in October, 1950, to become one of the household there. He had recounted the story of his life just before his retirement in seven small volumes under the title *La route du petit Morvandiau*, of which the fourth volume, *Une hérésie fantôme: L'Américanisme* (Paris, 1949) is of greatest interest to American readers. Abbé Klein was born on July 12, 1862, at Chateau-Chinon (Niévre) and after completing his studies at Saint Sulpice was ordained a priest in Paris on December 19, 1885. He never enjoyed really good health, although his productivity was seldom interrupted by sickness until his failing sight forced his retirement.

Charles A. Costello, pastor of St. Venantius Church, Rouseville, Pennsylvania, died on January 14 at the age of fifty-eight after a brief illness.

Father Costello's death came as a shock to his many friends in the American Catholic Historical Association, of which he had been a very faithful member since 1943. He had attended the annual meeting in Chicago in Christmas week and at that time appeared to be in good health. In October, 1949, Archbishop John Mark Gannon had appointed Father Costello as historian of the Diocese of Erie and he had gone about his task in a truly professional manner. He enrolled at the University of Notre Dame and took his master's degree with a dissertation on "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend Josue M. Young, Bishop of Erie, 1854-1866," a study embodying a good deal of unpublished material which he had gathered in various archives. Father Costello also took the summer course in archival administration at the National Archives and the American University in Washington. He had received his theological training at St. Joseph Seminary, Yonkers, New York, and was ordained by Cardinal Hayes in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, on June 10, 1922. Some months before his death a summary of his prolonged research was published in a supplement to the *Lake Shore Visitor-Register* of December 4, 1953, under the title *A Century of Progress: Diocese of Erie, 1853-1953*. His major work on the history of the diocese was nearing completion at the time of his death. Father Costello was a man of quiet charm who made friends on the occasion of his attendance at all the meetings of the Association, and he will be sincerely missed at the future annual gatherings of the Catholic historians.

Professor Friedrich Meinecke died in Berlin on February 7 at the age of ninety-one. He began his career as a member of the staff of the Prussian Archives. He became a professor of history at the University of Freiburg and later at the University of Berlin. For a long period he was editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Refusing to co-operate with the Nazi government he was forced to relinquish his editorship in 1935. In 1949 he became the first head of the West Berlin Free University. He blamed Germany's desire to become a world power for its misfortunes. His vehement criticism was visited on Nazism and communism alike. His voluminous writings were in modern German history.

Leo Francis Stock died suddenly on March 8 at the age of seventy-five. Born in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 31, 1878, he took his undergraduate work at nearby Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg, where he received the A.B. degree in 1896. After an interval of teaching at Pittsburgh College (the present Duquesne University) and McGill Institute, Mobile, in 1910 he joined the staff of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington where he remained for thirty-five years until his retirement in 1945. Mr. Stock combined his

work at the Carnegie Institution with following graduate courses at the Catholic University of America, where he took the Ph.D. degree in 1920 with a dissertation on "The British Parliament in Early Colonial Administration as Shown by Its Proceedings Relating to America, 1572-1625." His thesis subject grew out of his editorial tasks at the Carnegie Institution, and it was in that connection that he published the five volumes by which he became so well known in historical circles, the *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America* (Washington, 1924-1941), a work which revealed careful scholarship and high editorial skill. In 1919 he was named instructor in American history in the Catholic University of America and in 1922 was promoted to associate professor, a rank which he held until his retirement from the University in 1941. For a period of eighteen years, 1921-1939, he served as one of the editors of this REVIEW, to whose pages he made many solid contributions in articles, editing of documents, and book reviews. Dr. Stock was elected president of the American Catholic Historical Association for 1929, and on December 27 of that year he delivered at the annual meeting in Washington his presidential address on "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," the text of which was carried in the REVIEW of April, 1930.

In addition to his duties at the Carnegie Institution and at the University Dr. Stock found time for considerable writing as, e.g., his *List of American Journals Devoted to the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (Washington, 1925), *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868* (Washington, 1933), and *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches* (Washington, 1945). Besides the presidency of the Association, other well deserved honors came to him in recognition of his scholarly attainments, such as the honorary degree of LL.D. conferred upon him by Mount Saint Mary's College in 1928, a fellowship in the Royal Historical Society, and the Benemerenti Medal from the Holy See on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the marriage of Dr. and Mrs. Stock, an event which they celebrated on December 30, 1952.

It is easy enough to chronicle the professional assignments, teaching posts, and publications of a man like Leo F. Stock; it is not at all easy to convey to those who did not know him personally the deep religious faith, the sterling character, and the complete integrity that made him so attractive and winning a personality. Dr. Stock had about him an affability, a kindliness, and a spirit of co-operation that made him an ideal member of any group enterprise. During his years at the University he directed a score or more of graduate students who will always remember him for a mind that was richly stored with the facts of American history, and a manner that was ever gentle and kindly in the supervision he gave to

their academic progress. The colleagues of Dr. Stock at the Carnegie Institution, in the Department of History at the University, and on the editorial staff of this REVIEW were united in their testimony of his outstanding qualities, qualities which always rendered his company enjoyable, his association profitable, and his example memorable as that of the Christian gentleman and scholar at his best.

Documents: Una carta de Cisneros a León X. Juan Meseguer, O.F.M. (*Archivo ibero-americano,* July).—A New Letter of St. Peter Canisius. John Fisher (*Histor. Bull.,* Jan.).—Due lettere inedite del marchese Gerolamo Lucchesini confidente di Federico il Grande. Domenico Corsi (*Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento,* July).—Une correspondance inédite de Massimo d'Azeglio. Paul Guichonnet (*ibid.*).—Documenta Servetiana. Roland H. Bainton (*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* Jahrgang 44, Heft 2, 1953).—A French Traveler in Mexico in 1768: The Journey of the Vicomte de Pages. Edwin A. Davis (Ed.). (*The Americas,* Jan.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ADAMS, ELEANOR B. (Ed.). *A Bio-Bibliography of Franciscan Authors in Colonial Central America.* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1953. Pp. xxi, 97. $3.00.)

In this gem of scholarship Miss Adams gives striking proof of the thesis proposed by Carbia in his *Sentido misional del America.* Franciscan missions arose in Yucatan and Guatemala with the very dawn of Spanish rule in Mexico, and, true to type, the men who manned those missions turned their powers to an understanding of the higher aspects of their task. As a result they produced dictionaries, grammars of native languages, books on history, and ethnology, botany, geography, anthropology, and especially religion. Of the manuscripts and printed works that survive, 474 are here listed from the colonial days in upper Central America. Each of the 173 authors is given a critical brief biographical sketch, done with careful research into every variety of authentic record. The story running through these lives illumines the various relations of the missionaries with their epoch, their successes, and particularly the trials they met in that hectic environment of the early new world. France V. Scholes, the Mayan expert at the University of New Mexico, contributes a valuable overview of this bibliographical field. His gracious tribute to the author, a former student of his, is well deserved, for she has truly laid a debt on every worker in the intellectual history of colonial Spanish America. (W. EUGENE SHIELS)

ATHEARN, ROBERT G. *Westward the Briton.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1953. Pp. xiv, 208. $4.50.)

Under a title likely to be misleading, Mr. Athearn presents a picture of the Far West drawn from his perusal of over 300 works by British travelers who visited America from 1865 to 1900. He has put together a delightful bit of reading on the days of our last frontier, and, while it will inevitably attract the historian, it cannot fail to entice and to hold the interest of the general reader.

For the historian its value will depend upon the validity and depth of penetration of the views of the British travelers whose works have been used. Some of these travelers, e.g., Kipling, Stevenson, and Wilde, are recognized authors, though not for that reason necessarily unimpeachable observers of the western scene. But the list also includes Viscount Bryce whose chapter, "The Temper of the West," in the first edition of his *American Commonwealth,* Mr. Athearn regards as "one of the finest and most penetrating commentaries on the American West to come from the pen of any British traveler." Similar evaluations of the chief sources upon which the author has relied will be found in the critical bibliography preceding his very satisfactory index.

To many Americans, including even present-day westerners, the West of 1865-1900 was the "Wild West." Mr. Athearn's travelers, however, seem to

have been consistently disappointed in the degree of wildness which they found. Salt Lake City astonished them by its quiet and respectability; Denver offered practically all the luxuries and conveniences to be found in eastern cities and, according to some travelers, even in Paris. Indeed, the westerner one meets in these travel accounts resented any suggestion that his "city" was rough and lawless, while his pride was its degree of civilization and progress. Mr. Athearn's Britons remove from the western myth some of its romance and much of its wildness, but they make fascinating reading. (J. ROBERT LANE)

BARBER, HOLLIS W. *Foreign Policies of the United States.* (New York: Dryden Press. 1953. Pp. x, 614. $5.25.)

Here is a book that dares to be different from others of its kind. The author does not forget that the student who means to use it may be more perplexed at the why and wherefore than at the what that goes to make up matters of policy. The first section of the book is devoted to explaining the conduct of American foreign policy and describing the workings of the Department of State. Thus the student is told how policy is determined and who contributes to its formulation before he sees policy unfolding as he reads.

The second section plunges into the most arresting problem of the moment—the cold war. Under the heading of "Isolation and Neutrality," the gamut of American relations with Europe is treated from the time of Washington's Farewell Address to the latest developments involved in the defense of the western community of nations. There are chapters also devoted to our relations with Central Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and a follow-up chapter commenting on the foreign economic policies of the United States. Three sections conclude the book: one which treats of the relations of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, one that concentrates attention on Far Eastern matters, and the last section (and by far the most important to the author's way of thinking) which relates to the United Nations' affairs. Two hundred pages of this six-hundred page book are given over to a study of the United States and the United Nations. The author points out in his preface that his book differs from others in that a considerable portion of space is devoted to the United Nations. This is all to the good. He notes also that it includes a chapter on Canada, a country that some Americans are often too apt to take for granted. This reviewer wonders, however, why there is not so much as a single paragraph on Mexican-American relations, although the author has written a chapter on Caribbean policies.

The one difficulty which will confront any student who uses this book is this: he or she had better come to it with a broad knowledge of American diplomatic history, for it is not possible to appreciate policy except if one sees it in its historical setting. Otherwise this is an admirable work, despite the author's pleading a case for the UN. (HARRY W. KIRWIN)

BODLEY, R. V. C. *The Warrior Saint.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1953. Pp. xiii, 302. $4.00.)

Perhaps it was the parallel experience as an English army officer and seven-year civilian Saharan sojourner that enabled the author, an agnostic, to pen such a sympathetic and admiring account of Father de Foucauld's life. He has not attempted to write a definitive biography, nor to penetrate the full depths of de Foucauld's sanctity. Rather he has essayed the modest task of telling us how it was from beginning to end with this little Catholic priest.

The story turns on the old theme of sinner turned saint, but the striking personality of the young libertine and the later saintly priest of the Sahara makes the narrative a dramatic one. Vicomte Charles de Foucauld was born in 1858, orphaned at six, and for the first twenty-eight years of life essayed the role of the sybarite. He inherited a fortune, lost his faith, graduated from St. Cyr and Samur, had a brief tour of duty in Algeria, resigned from the army, and explored the Rif. After his conversion, he entered the Trappists for a seven-year period, secured release from taking final vows, spent three years as a hermit in the Holy Land, returned to France to study for the priesthood, and was ordained in 1901. The final twelve of the subsequent fifteen years in the Sahara were spent ministering to the Twareg at Tamanrasset, 900 miles south of Algiers and 400 miles from the nearest French outpost. This was a period of selfless, heroic service in imitation of his Master. In 1916 he was murdered by an excited Targui youth.

The term "saint" in the title is correct only in a broad sense, since de Foucauld has not yet been beatified. The description of his conversion appears inadequate, and the pen picture of Abbé Huvelin, de Foucauld's spiritual adviser, does not sufficiently emphasize the distinction between love of the sinner and intolerance for sin. There is a strain of indifferentism in the narration, but the author does evince a sympathetic appreciation of the supernatural motivation of de Foucauld's career, and of his dual loyalty to the Twareg and to France.

This is a very readable, frank, and sympathetic portrayal of the life of a unique personality, and it has a definite place in the growing literature on the holy missionary to the Twareg. (GEORGE A. HIGGINS)

BROUGH, KENNETH J. *Scholar's Workshop.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1953. Pp. xv, 197. $4.50.)

This is an account of the historical development of the American university library as exemplified at Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Yale. The prime sources are the published reports of administrative officers, library committees, university governing boards, catalogs, etc., of each institution. Occasionally parallel data and examples are taken from other libraries. A background chapter emphasizes European influence, particularly of Göttingen with its immense collection and its seminar approach. Succeeding chapters discuss the clientele of which the faculty was long the sole object of attention; the nature and extent of the collections (Harvard's objective in 1857: one copy of each published

work); the accessibility of the collections through classification, catalogs, and bibliographies, expanded hours of service, storage of "dead" books and interlibrary loan; perusal assistance to readers (reference work and instruction in use of books and libraries); and the rôle of the librarian. In his conclusion the author attempts to evaluate existing patterns of university library thought and practice which he often finds either too stereotyped, as with reserve book practice, or (citing the Farmington Plan) lacking boldness! In this concluding chapter the book appears at its weakest showing little appreciation of advanced thinking and accomplishment on the part of Ellsworth and others. Although provocative in spots, the chief value of the volume lies in its historical reconstruction. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

CLINE, HOWARD F. *The United States and Mexico.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 452. $6.00.)

This book is a recent addition to the American Foreign Policy Library. It is not a formal study in diplomatic history. Dr. Cline, formerly assistant professor of history at Northwestern University and now Director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, has concentrated his attention on recent Mexican history and the interactions between the United States and Mexico in the political, economic, and social fields. After setting the geographical framework and sketching the development of the complex Mexican society from pre-historic "basic" cultures to the revolution of 1910 in the first quarter of the book, the author allots, in nearly equal portions, the remaining three-fourths of his study to the periods 1910-1933, 1933-1946, and 1946-1952.

Three considerations appear to have had prime importance in determining the author's special viewpoint. A survey of modern Mexico can serve as a case history, and it can "illustrate the cheering truth that from the bloody chaos of mass revolution a sturdy and respected democracy can emerge, solidly rooted at home and respected abroad" (p. 6). In stressing the fact that the goals to which Mexicans aspire are peculiarly Mexican ones, Dr. Cline devotes extensive sections to internal Mexican developments. He is convinced that diplomatic techniques acquired by the United States in dealing with Mexico, occupied as it has been in continuing the revolution of 1910, form a store of unique experiences which may be valuable in conducting diplomatic relations with other nations.

Dr. Cline gives the reader no extensive textual documentation, but he includes thirty tables of statistical materials in one appendix and a critical bibliography of suggested reading in a second appendix. The style is adequate, if at times somewhat hurried. There are useful maps showing rainfall, irrigated areas, population, petroleum centers, railways, and hydraulic developments in Mexico. *The United States and Mexico* is valuable as a summary of recent Mexican history, even though the specialist may find his particular area of interest lightly treated; e.g., anti-clericalism (1926-1929) receives one brief paragraph. Dr. Cline has effectively presented Mexico as a land of contrasts, as a nation progressing economically, socially, and politically toward a bright

future, and as a Latin American neighbor maintaining mutually friendly and beneficial contacts with the United States. (FRANK BURCH)

DARBY, THOMAS J. *Thirteen Years in a Labor School; The History of the New Rochelle Labor School.* (St. Paul: Radio Replies Press. 1953. Pp. vi, 92. 50¢.)

The opportunity of making known, through a scheme of adult education, the teachings of the Church on social problems, and to direct such teachings specifically to men and women already active in the field of organized labor, was recognized and seized by a group of Catholic priests in the Archdiocese of New York about 1938. The prime mover in the enterprise which resulted in the Labor School at the Ursuline College of New Rochelle was Father Joseph N. Moody. After Father Moody became a naval chaplain, the school continued under the able direction of Father Darby, who has done full justice to the work in this brief history—except that he is a little too modest when he comes to chronicle his own exploits, and he can be overgenerous in awarding praise to those who, from time to time, gave him some assistance. The later development of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the enlightenment of many outside of the labor movement as to the sound principles of trade unionism, and an indispensable sympathy brought to Catholic labor leaders in their efforts to secure justice and at the same time protect themselves from racketeers and communists, all stem largely from the enterprise which began at New Rochelle in 1938 and which, properly, has been imitated in other parts of the country. For the modest price of 50¢, anyone who chooses to do so may read a fine case study of the social apostolate. The work is still very much in demand, for, as Father Darby remarks in his preface, the American labor movement is still "most influenced by the materialism and secularism that 'guide' the rest of American society." (JOHN T. FARRELL)

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